

JPRS 83360

28 April 1983

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 413

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

STATUS OF DISPUTE OVER NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE CLARIFIED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Feb 83 p 7

[Article: "What Is The U.S. 'Zero Option Proposal'"?]

[Text] On 18 November 1981, American President Reagan put forward a "zero option proposal" for the limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. The gist of this proposal is that if the Soviet union will eliminate its new-type SS-20 guided missiles and old-type SS-4 and SS-5 guided missiles deployed in Europe, the United States will not deploy its Pershing II guided missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles.

As to the origin of the "zero option proposal," let us tell the story from the start.

Prior to the middle of the seventies, there was on the whole a balance of forces in medium-range nuclear strength between the Soviet Union and NATO. The Soviet Union had deployed SS-4 and SS-5 guided missiles in the European area and NATO had deployed the American Pershing I type missiles and Lance type guided missiles. However, in 1977 the Soviet Union started to deploy in Europe the new SS-20 guided missiles, which can hit every spot in Western Europe; thereby the Soviet Union gained superiority over NATO in medium-range nuclear strength in Europe. The United States was greatly disturbed over this change in the situation. It got NATO in December 1979 to adopt a resolution that, beginning in 1983, it would deploy 572 American Pershing II missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles in West Germany, England, Italy, Holland and Belgium. At the same time, the United States undertook to negotiate with the Soviet Union a limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. The United States and the Soviet Union finally began negotiations on this question in 1980 at Geneva.

It was Brandt, the chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party, who for the first time proposed the "zero option" to Brezhnev when Brandt visited the Soviet Union in July 1981. Schmidt, at that time the West German chancellor, supported the proposal and thought it could serve as the basis for U.S.-Soviet negotiations.

The Reagan government of the United States originally opposed the proposal, but, out of consideration for its alliance with West Germany, the United

States accepted the West German proposition and formally submitted it as its own proposal--a fact that was generally welcomed by the Western countries.

The Soviet Union rejected the "zero option proposal," and Andropov, the Soviet leader who had recently come to power called it "a joke," thus indicating that it was unacceptable. Finally, he emphatically declared if the United States were not to deploy any new missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union would be willing to reduce its medium-range missiles deployed in Europe. This Soviet proposal was rejected by the United States. At present, U.S.-Soviet negotiations on the question of medium-range nuclear weapons deployment in Europe have reached an impasse.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING'S DIPLOMATIC STAGE SAID FOCUS OF WORLD ATTENTION

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 12, 20 Dec 82 pp 18-20

[Text] This autumn, Beijing became a diplomatic stage that attracted worldwide attention. Following the 12th CPC Congress, an unending string of friends and visitors came to Beijing from all corners of the world. Among the large number of guests, there were over 10 heads of foreign states and governments and leaders of fraternal parties. To have so many foreign guests of state arrive one after the other within the short time of one season is a rare occurrence in our country's history.

The statement on China's foreign policy in the report of the 12th CPC Congress has evoked worldwide response. How China will handle its foreign relations and how it will implement its foreign policy of independence and self-determination are matters that are being closely watched internationally.

1. Immediately after the close of the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Kim Il-song, head of state of our close neighboring country, was the first leader of a fraternal party who paid our country a formal state visit. He was accorded a grand reception. In April this year [1982], when Comrades Hu Yaobang and Deng Xiaoping visited Korea, they were also accorded lavish hospitality. Ever since the victorious revolutions in China and Korea, our heads of state have regularly visited each other and conferred on matters of vital importance. This relationship of mutual trust and assistance indicates the deep friendship that has formed between the peoples of China and Korea in their struggle against their common enemies.

Comrade Kim Il-song is a close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people; he has consistently supported our country's revolutionary cause. Particularly memorable is the fact that during the time when our party suffered its greatest difficulties and even severe setbacks, he firmly supported our party and fully displayed extraordinary powers of observation and deep understanding of our party's history of struggle. At the conclusion of the 12th CPC Congress, he enthusiastically praised the way the meeting had been conducted, and stated that it had been a great success in demonstrating the solidarity of the CPC. This sincere friendship is a great support and encouragement for the cause of our party; precisely as Comrade Hu Yaobang expressed it: "The important thing in friendship is mutual intimate understanding."

In their talks and meetings, the leaders of the two countries dealt with each other with absolute sincerity, exchanged opinions in a thorough and wide-ranging manner on bilateral relations and vital international questions, and reached a complete identity of views. At grand banquets and gatherings, both leaders gave ebullient speeches which evoked thunderous applause. On their tours of inspection in Sichuan and Xian, the two statesmen talked cheerfully and humorously on very intimate terms with each other, just as if they were members of the same family.

Having gone through thick and thin together, China and Korea developed in their friendship an extremely precious relationship between the parties and states of the two countries. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said this militant friendship has been tested in violent gales and rainstorms and is indestructible, whatever forces it may confront. Comrade Kim Il-song said the solidarity and friendship between our two parties and two peoples not only is something extant in our generation, but will last for many generations to come.

2. For a period of time, China's relationship with the United States and with the Soviet Union was the center of world attention.

At the beginning of September, former U.S. President Nixon visited China. Ten years ago, when he first visited China as President of the United States, a joint communique by both countries opened the gates to Sino-American relations. During the 10 years since then, Sino-American relations have experienced great developments, but also many obstacles. When Nixon visited this time, it was shortly after an agreement had been reached between China and the United States on the question of arms sales to Taiwan. Meeting Nixon on 8 September, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that on this question, we shall watch the U.S. Government's actual moves from now on. Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the question of arms sales to Taiwan is not the greatest obstacle in Sino-American relations; a much more protracted adverse effect must be ascribed to the "Taiwan Relations Act." As soon as that law is abolished or amended, it will signify the establishment of a more stable foundation for better relations between our two countries.

In October, Chinese Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen [6929 0366 3819] and Soviet Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Ilychev held consultations in Beijing, at which both sides calmly clarified their standpoints.

At his meeting with foreign correspondents on 17 October, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "China sincerely hopes that all obstacles harmful to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations can be eliminated, so that the relationship between the two countries can proceed on the road of healthy development." Where are the obstacles? China has all along regarded the Soviet support of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, the direct military occupation of Afghanistan, and the deployment of 1 million men along the Soviet and Mongolian borders with China as constituting serious threats to the peace of Asia and to China's security. They are the major obstacles that presently stand in the way of better Sino-Soviet relations. If the Soviet authorities truly want to improve relations with China, they must take effective action to eradicate these obstacles, and at least first make one or two substantial

moves. The next consultation will be held in Moscow. China wholeheartedly hopes that the present consultations will achieve substantial progress.

The Chinese leaders told the foreign statesmen that visited China that China firmly persists in establishing normal relations with all nations, including the United States and the Soviet Union, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, China opposes all forms of hegemonism. During the past year, the world situation has become more and more strained and turbulent. Old problems remain unsolved and new problems are continuously arising, for which the basic root cause is the struggle between the superpowers for hegemony. The main sufferers from this struggle are the countries of the Third World. Only if the peoples of the world unite in a struggle against hegemonism and upset [the superpowers] strategic deployments can world peace be safeguarded.

3. In their talks with Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki, with British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher, and with West German President Carstens, the Chinese leaders reiterated that China will unswervingly pursue a policy of opening up the country and will make great efforts to develop trade and economic cooperation with Japan, West Germany, and all other countries of the world. China has abundant mineral resources, and China's four modernizations require the importation of advanced foreign technology and equipment. China's economic condition has truly taken a distinct turn for the better, while global economic conditions are in a very depressed state. Under these circumstances it will be particularly significant if China and the other countries each bring their particular advantages into play, benefit from each other's strongpoints to make up for their own weaknesses and, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, make further progress in developing mutual economic and technical cooperation. This will meet the needs of both sides and will open up broad prospects and abundant possibilities.

At the same time, the Chinese leaders have always stressed that China cherished its position of independence and self-determination and firmly protects the country's sovereignty, the inviolability of its territory, and the dignity of the nation.

When Prime Minister Suzuki visited China, the wave of resentment over the Japanese revision of their textbooks had just subsided. Both sides celebrated in great style the 10th anniversary of the resumption of diplomatic relations between China and Japan and expressed high esteem for Sino-Japanese friendship. Deng Xiaoping told Suzuki: It is our long-term national policy that the friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples continue for generations to come; yet it is also our hope that Premier Suzuki, his government, and future Japanese governments will pay attention to militarist trends. There are indeed certain people in Japan who go against the will of the majority in their efforts to revive militarism. Premier Zhao Ziyang also said: In the development of Sino-Japanese relations, we propose to look ahead, but that does not mean we should forget the lessons of history and, in particular, allow a small group of people to willfully falsify history. He pointed out that relations between Japan and Taiwan are an important

question of principle within Sino-Japanese relations. Only if both China and Japan observe the Joint Sino-Japanese Statement and other relevant agreements can this question appropriately solved and can adverse repercussions for the relationship between our two countries be avoided. Suzuki expressed the opinion that the overwhelming majority of Japanese do not want to see past mistakes repeated.

England was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with our country. Mrs Thatcher is the first incumbent British prime minister to visit China. Most of the time, the talks between the two sides were taken up by a thorough discussion of the Hong Kong question. The basic standpoint of the Chinese side on the Hong Kong question is: recovery of sovereignty and preservation of prosperity. Both items form one entity and cannot be separated from one another, but recovery of sovereignty is the precondition. In the regaining of sovereignty by China, full consideration will be given to the realities of the Hong Kong situation, and special policies will be adopted in order not to harm Hong Kong's prosperity--policies that will only bring benefit to both peoples and benefit for the people of Hong Kong. Through negotiations and efforts at cooperation, and in a spirit of friendship, the Chinese Government hopes to find an appropriate settlement to the Hong Kong question. In statements at Hong Kong after her visit to China, Mrs Thatcher emphasized that the three treaties signed in the 19th century concerning the territory of Hong Kong are "valid" and must "continue to be observed." She also stated that Great Britain bears a "moral responsibility" for the inhabitants of Hong Kong, and so on. This terminology is unacceptable to all Chinese, including the people of Hong Kong; it also was criticized by British and international public opinion. According to the agreement reached between China and Great Britain, diplomats from both countries will shortly engage in discussions as to how to maintain Hong Kong's prosperity and stability.

4. Most of our distinguished guests who came during this period from various countries were from the Third World. It has all along been China's policy to strengthen its relations with the Third World. If friends in adversity meet again, they will feel twice as cordial toward each other. President Zia-ul-Haq, Chairman Sihanouk, Vice Chairman Khieu Samphan, President Son Sann, and Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda, all leaders in countries in the forefront of the antihegemonical struggle, all came to visit China and were warmly welcomed by the Chinese Government and the Chinese people.

Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang told President Haq that he admired the Pakistan Government for firmly standing on its principles in the Afghan question and defying brute force. He said that the Afghan resistance is growing in strength and that the situation is good. China too favors a political solution, but a precondition for such a solution must be the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

In discussions with democratic Kampuchean leaders Sihanouk, Khieu Samphan, and Son Sann, the Chinese leaders warmly praised the three factions of the Kampuchean anti-Vietnamese forces for realizing an alliance, in compliance with the will of the people, and attributed high value to the great victory

gained by democratic Kampuchea at this year's UN General Assembly. The Chinese leaders reiterated that the Chinese people will firmly support, as before, the just struggle of the Kampuchean people in resisting the Vietnamese invasion until final victory is won. China hopes the three factions of patriotic forces will further strengthen their solidarity, consolidate their alliance, and finally drive out the Vietnamese invaders from Kampuchean soil so as to build an independent, peaceful, neutral and unattached Kampuchea.

The leaders of China and Thailand discussed Indo-China intensively, especially the Kampuchean question. They hope the three factions of the Kampuchean patriotic forces will further consolidate their alliance, persevere in their anti-Vietnamese struggle, and cause even greater distress to the Vietnamese invasion forces, thereby creating favorable conditions for a political solution of the Kampuchean question. The prime ministers of the two countries indicated that ASEAN should strengthen cooperation and coordination with China.

China advocates the strengthening of unity with all countries of the Third World. The Peruvian chairman of the council of Ministers, Ulloa, on his first visit to China, and Libyan leader Qadhafi, held frank and sincere talks with Chinese leaders--talks that increased mutual understanding and promoted a new development in mutual friendly relations. The Chinese leaders told Qadhafi: China is just one of the members of the Third World, not a chief of anything and not in any special position, and has never even harbored thoughts of this kind. The coalition of all countries of the Third World must be built on the foundation of mutual respect and equality. Disputes and discords among nations of the Third World must find reasonable and appropriate solutions through consultations on the basis of equality, and with the exclusion of any interference by the superpowers.

China's relations of mutual support and cooperation with the countries of the Third World are in no way diverted by whatever policies these countries pursue in their foreign relations toward certain great powers. Concrete conditions differ in the various countries of the Third World, but they must all be supported in their struggle against interference and threats from whatever outside quarter. Recently, much international attention was aroused by Qadhafi's visit to China and the mutual recognition of China and Angola.

Strengthening economic contacts and cooperation with the countries of the Third World is a major item whenever talks are held between the Chinese leaders and the leaders from Asian, African, and Latin American countries that come to visit us. China will continue to provide assistance without any strings attached, within the limits of its possibilities, in support of economic construction in the countries of the Third World. China will at the same time pay serious attention to the launching of economic interchanges and cooperation to supply mutually what the other needs and to adopt the other's strongpoints to offset one's own weaknesses, based on actual conditions, and to the opening up of a number of various channels, with due consideration for mutual needs, equality, and mutual benefits. China has set up

joint and mixed committees with Pakistan, Libya, and other countries as a new experiment in cooperation. The leaders of China and Peru have agreed that, under the present conditions of worldwide economic depression, when the industrially developed countries are trying to shift the crisis onto the countries of the Third World, it is extremely important that the large number of countries of the Third World support each other politically and economically, develop "Southern Hemisphere cooperation," and promote a North-South dialog.

5. In October, delegates of the French Communist Party Central Committee, led by Georges Marchais, paid a friendly visit to our country. On that occasion, relations between the Chinese and French parties, which had been interrupted for 17 years, were formally restored. Prior to this event, delegates of the Italian and Spanish communist parties had visited our country and resumed relations with the CPC. Great developments thus occurred in the relationships of our party with the communist parties of other countries.

Relations between the Chinese and French parties were formally resumed by our party on the principle of "independence and self-determination, absolute equality, mutual respect, and mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs." The event was indeed an important achievement in our cooperation with the French Communist Party.

During his visit, Secretary General Marchais conducted discussions with Chinese leaders in a frank, sincere, and friendly atmosphere, and both sides exchanged opinions on a wide range of important international questions, each side with its own stand, viewpoint, political line, and policy. The talks demonstrated clearly the many identical views between the Chinese and the French communist parties on a whole series of important questions, but due to differences in history, culture, and social conditions, there also exist certain divergencies of views on a number of international questions. Both sides agreed that it is quite normal for two parties to hold different views on certain questions, and that this does not preclude a comradely exchange of views and mutual cooperation. At his meeting with Marchais, Deng Xiaoping said: A country's socialist revolution and construction must be carried out independently by the communist party of that particular country, and irrelevant lecturing or indiscreet remarks and criticisms by comrades of foreign parties would certainly lead only to the commission of mistakes. There are certain things the French party does with which we disagree, but disagreeing is one thing, while making indiscreet remarks and criticisms is another matter. This is a question of principle, and it is best to follow this principle in establishing relations between parties of different countries. Marchais agreed that this is also the standpoint of the French Communist Party. We all bear responsibility for the past deterioration in our mutual relations, and we agree to adopt a forward-looking attitude and to constantly deepen and expand the friendship and cooperation between our two parties.

When Comrade Hu Yaobang met with French reporters on 17 October, he clearly stated: "We are observing one principle--namely, not to interfere in the

internal affairs of other parties. No matter what kind of party is concerned, be it a workers' party, a communist party, or a nationalist government party, as long as they want to have friendly relations with us, we will be willing to establish friendly relations with them."

China's whole series of diplomatic activities since the 12th Party Congress has aroused widespread international comment. People have come to realize that China's policy of independence and self-determination remains one of continuity and consistency, and that at the same time it has become more distinct and much improved under the new conditions. In one of its commentaries, the Japanese MAINICHI SHIMBUN said: "China's principle is a firm assertion of its standpoint of independence." Chinese diplomatic strategy "is conforming with the political line of its modernizations, which have become national policy," and "simultaneously China follows a political line of domestic construction on the basis of self-reliance, and in the international sphere China endeavors to become a modern sovereign state, independent and with the initiative for all its affairs in its own hands."

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CSO: 4005/490

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. CORPORATE MERGERS ANALYZED

Tianjin GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] No 4, Oct 82
pp 43-49

[Article by Wen Yan [2429 4291]: "New Developments in the Trend of Take-overs Among U.S. Monopolies--Analysis of a Fierce War Among U.S. Companies"]

[Text] The 3 May 1982 issue of FORTUNE, which had materials on the 500 biggest U.S. industrial corporations, did not have the name of Conoco which for the past 2 years had been listed as the ninth largest oil company in the United States. At the same time, there were 20 more large companies, such as Kennecott (the biggest copper mining company of the United States), Momorex, etc., which had also disappeared from the list. Also, the number one U.S. private investment-bank, Salomon Brothers, had been purchased by Phibro Co. Recently, the unpredictable fate of many large U.S. corporations clearly reflects that the turbulent and uncertain political and economic situation confronting the United States in the 80's has already become much worse.

In the summer of 1981, Dupont's acquisition of Conoco was unquestionably the fiercest battle in the history of U.S. monopoly capitalism. It was watched closely in the United States and the capitalist world. The London TIMES considered it to be "an unprecedented Wall Street drama." Now, with the fierce battle already finished, when the smoke of guns that filled the battleground already gone, a great quantity of materials have come to light one after another. From the research on the intense struggle and rise and fall of the status quo among the big U.S. capitalists, many model implications can be found.

The Origin of the Fierce Battle

Conoco stands for "Continental Oil Company." In FORTUNE's 1980 listing of the top 500 industrial companies, Conoco was listed 14th overall and 9th among oil companies. Its sales volume for 1980 was U.S. \$18.3 billion, with assets of U.S. \$11 billion, employing 41,503 workers, and with its headquarters located in Stamford, Connecticut. According to analysis, Conoco belongs to the Morgan financial group.

Conoco has rich energy reserves. In these days of increasing shortages, it has become increasingly sought after. By one estimate, it has deposits of 2 billion barrels of oil (in 1980 Conoco produced over 370,000 barrels of crude oil a day, and of this, 34-36 percent came from oil fields within the United States), 7 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and 14.3 billion tons of coal. Conoco's coal deposits are the largest in the United States, and its mining volume is second only to Peabody Co. According to a report in the U.S. magazine TIME, Conoco has oil well platforms from the Gulf of Mexico to the South China Sea, coal fields from West Virginia to Alberta, Canada, natural gas wells from Texas to the North Sea and uranium mines from New Mexico to the Niger of Africa. Conoco was one of a few U.S. companies that increased proven oil and natural gas deposits in 1980. This company has accumulated a wealth of experience in extracting oil and gas in frigid zones. In extracting oil in the North Sea, Conoco has an important position. Furthermore, they still have U.S. \$1 billion cash on hand. No matter what company takes Conoco over, they will have a ready-made dowry.

Although Conoco has rich reserves of energy resources, and its management and administration are fairly good--with a net income of U.S. \$1 billion after taxes in 1980--they were confronted with a series of difficulties.

First, the whole capitalist world sees a long-term prospect of confronting the energy shortage, but, in the past 2 years, there has been an overproduction of oil for a variety of reasons. Oil company stocks sell for one-third or less than one-third of their price. Conoco was no exception to this. The true value of each share was U.S. \$150 (London TIMES went so far as to say \$200), but the selling price on the market before the fierce battle started was U.S. \$50.

Second, Conoco has a 53 percent stock ownership of the Canadian Hudson Bay Oil and Gas Co. After the Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau regained power in 1980, he imposed a strict high-tax policy against foreign oil companies with the goal of driving them out of Canada. Conoco was anxious to dispose of this sham ownership.

Third, Conoco Co has a large quantity of oil interests in Libya and Dubai. However, as U.S.-Libya relations worsen daily and the Mid East situation is more and more unstable, they are also giving a great deal of thought to disposing this division's assets.

Fourth, although Conoco controls a great quantity of coal reserves, and due to the rise of the price of oil in the United States in recent years some enterprises have already changed from burning oil to burning coal--but there are few in this situation. In terms of transporting and loading and unloading its coal, Conoco has many problems. They also had a variety of disputes with U.S. coal trade unions which they were temporarily unable to resolve.

Fifth, Conoco issued a total of 87 million shares. Sixty-two percent of these shares were in the hands of organizations such as banks, trust funds, insurance companies, and foundations, etc. According to reports in U.S. newspapers, this one "organization" section of shareholders wanted to get rid of Conoco stock in whole or in part.

Under these circumstances, the Conoco Board of Directors, after deploying an escape route for themselves, decided to sell the stocks slightly higher than the market price but much lower than the price of the value of output. In this way, part or all of the assets were transferred. Consequently, the fierce battle for Conoco began.

The Principal Opponents Competing to Purchase Conoco

Once the rumor got out that Conoco was on the look out for a suitable partner for a merger, 10-odd large industrial corporations either appeared on the scene or were ready to make trouble. Their names are all listed on FORTUNE's top 500 U.S. industrial corporations or on the list of the top 500 industrial corporations outside the United States. In order to help readers understand the scale and intense state of affairs of the battlefield of their fierce war, an introduction of the three large corporations will first be given in the order of their appearance.

The first was Seagram Co of Canada. Seagram is the largest brewing company in the world. They produce champagne and whisky which are on sale all over the world. The assets of this company include a considerable division of oil property. In 1967 Seagram used 260 million to purchase Pacific Oil Co of Texas and in 1980 sold it to Sun Oil Co for 2.3 billion. All the large oil corporations of the United States thought that after Seagram offered the sale to Sun Oil Co, it would invest in other areas. But it appears that Seagram still fixed its sight on U.S. oil and raw material companies. In order to takeover new companies, Seagram at once began to borrow U.S. \$3 billion in 1981 from 31 large banks, among which were (Mercantile Bank), Manufacturers Hanover Bank and others. This is the largest sum of money ever loaned to a single private company in the history of bank loaning. Seagram was rolling up its sleeves for a fight.

Next was Dupont Co. Dupont is the largest chemical company in the United States. In 1980 it was number 15 on the FORTUNE 500 list. It is number one in terms of chemical production in the United States. The Dupont family emigrated to the United States from France, and from 1802 to 1971 they completely dominated Dupont Co and now still have about 30 percent controlling power. Dupont is famous for manufacturing and selling gunpowder. The main factory and headquarters are located in Wilmington, Delaware in eastern United States. Up to the present this state is completely controlled by the Dupont family. During World War II, Dupont Co occupied a very important place in U.S. arms manufacturing. "Nylon" was first invented and created by this company. The special feature of Dupont is that they attach great importance to researching new products and they have made frequent breakthroughs. In the past few years, this company has carried out research to make efforts to use coal in making industrial chemicals. To date, however, they still consider oil and natural gas to be the most important raw materials. The most significant reason Dupont wanted to takeover Conoco was to ensure a source of raw materials for themselves. Shapiro, who was the Chairman of the Board of Dupont for a long time, and who retired just 2 months before the start of the fierce battle, played a pivotal role in the economic life of the United States and is an important member of the celebrated U.S.

"Industry and Commerce Round-table Conference" organization. He is a friend of the newly appointed Secretary of State Shultz. He was the real director behind the scenes when Dupont participated in the fierce war.

Third is Mobil Co (also known as the Flying Horse Oil Co). It is the second largest oil company in the United States after Exxon. Among the FORTUNE 500 it is number 2, again behind Exxon. In 1980 its sales were U.S. \$59.5 billion, with assets of U.S. \$37.7 billion and employing more than 210,000 staff and workers. In the past 10 years Mobil's total income increased eight-fold. With great ambitions, they have ceaselessly taken over other medium and small oil companies. For examples, in 1979 they acquired General Crude Oil Co for 800 million and in 1980 they acquired TransOcean Oil Co for 740 million. It would appear that this company's ideal is to ultimately surpass Exxon as the number one oil company. However, in reality this dream will be very hard to achieve. In 1980 the assets of Mobil were 23.8 billion less than Exxon's. Mobil's sources of crude oil are mostly in the Middle East and other areas of the Third World such as Indonesia, Cameroon and other countries. The special characteristic of this company is that they have enormous refining facilities, but, lacking a crude oil base and especially a source of crude that is dependable and constantly flowing. Mobil, Texaco and Exxon are all members of the Saudi Arabian "ARAMCO Oil Co." Due to Mobil's energetic currying for personal gain, during the 1970s its share in the "ARAMCO Oil Co" increased from 10 to 15 percent. Last year, when the U.S. Congress was debating whether or not to sell early-warning aircraft systems to Saudi Arabia, Mobil was one of the most energetic lobbying groups in the halls of Congress. Because of the turbulent situation in the Middle East, Mobil used every conceivable means to look for sources of oil in different regions. At the beginning of 1981, Mobil undisguisedly announced: "The task of our company in the 1980's is to obtain verified sources of oil, particularly oil-bearing regions of the United States, through takeovers."

Stages of the Fierce Battle

As was mentioned before, early in 1980 Conoco considered selling its Canadian oil property. In May 1981, Dome Co of Canada proposed the purchase of 20 percent of Conoco stock for U.S. \$65 a share.

Just when Conoco was negotiating with Dome, Seagram Co of Canada proposed buying 25 percent of Conoco stock. However, they declared again and again that they had no intention of dominating Conoco, proposing to write and sign an agreement guaranteeing that for 15 years they would have no intention of further dominating Conoco. Conoco's Board of Directors rejected the proposals of both Dome and Seagrams, and began to consider discussing a merger with the U.S. "Cities Service Oil Co" (allegedly belonging to the Morgan finance group) to resist the low purchase price of Seagram and other companies.

On 25 June Seagram again proposed to buy 41 percent of Conoco stock for U.S. \$73 a share. This proposal of over 2.6 billion dollars cash broke up the plan to merge Conoco with Cities Service Oil Co. But the Board of Directors of Conoco recognized that Seagram's proposal had already shifted from a

common purchase to a controlling purchase of Conoco. Morgan Stanley, an investment bank with which Conoco had extremely close relations, drew up a list of names of large U.S. transnational corporations that had both contact with Morgan Stanley and with the condition that they either purchase Conoco stock or merge with Conoco, and asked Conoco to consider doing business with them. At this time a great many large corporations were ready for action.

On 6 July, Conoco and Dupont announced that they had reached an agreement: Dupont would purchase 40 percent of Conoco stock for U.S. \$87.50 a share and, based on a scale of 1.6 to 1, use Dupont stock in exchange for the remaining 60 percent of Conoco stock.

After Seagram heard the message, they immediately proposed purchasing 51 percent of Conoco stock for U.S. \$85 a share. Two days later, Dupont raised the fixed purchase price to U.S. \$95 (cash) a share and raised the exchange scale of Dupont stock for Conoco stock to 1.7 to 1.

As Dupont and Seagram fought to raise the price of Conoco stock, Mobil issued a proposal for a two-stage "merger" with Conoco. In the first stage, they would purchase 50 percent of Conoco stock for U.S. \$90 a share (cash), and in the second stage they would use Mobil's preferred stock of U.S. \$90 per share or (insured) negotiable securities in exchange for Conoco's remaining stock. In this way they would achieve the "merger" of the two companies. Five days later, Mobil hinted that they would still be able to raise the purchase price.

At this time, Seagram raised its purchase price to U.S. \$92 per share. On the New York Stock Market, Seagram purchased Conoco stock on a big scale. Following this, Mobil raised the purchase price to U.S. \$115 per share, but lowered the originally proposed exchange of Mobil preferred stock at U.S. \$90 a share to U.S. \$85 a share for one share of Conoco. One week later, Mobil again raised the purchase price to U.S. \$115 per share. And on 4 October raised it again to U.S. \$120. Dupont then raised the price to U.S. \$98 a share, with the share-exchange ratio remaining unchanged at 1.7 to 1.

In the pre-dawn hours of 5 October, Dupont finally took the high price of 7.6 billion as its proposed purchase price for 55 percent of Conoco stock. Dupont's victory, according to U.S. press analysis, was due to the following reasons: first, Mobil made tactical mistakes during the struggle; in particular its very late entry into the battle, its initial proposal of a very low purchase price and, in a later stage, its extremely vicious offense also caused adverse reactions with Conoco and related finance companies. Second, the U.S. anti-trust laws, although they have only a nominal existence, still worry the psyche of shareholders that the acquisition of the number nine oil company and the number two oil company will encounter a reaction with the Judiciary. Third, for a long time Dupont and Conoco had famous economic and business relations. Fourth, the Dupont victory, in fact, reflected that Morgan, the chief finance group, won a victory in one round, and replaced Rockefeller as the leading finance group.

The place of the Dupont family in the economic and political life of the United States is always very important. This family is one of the largest shareholders of Dupont, International Telephone and Telegraph, General Motors Corp, and 10-odd other U.S. companies. After the merger of Dupont and Conoco, the influence of the Dupont family is even greater. The London TIMES held that "The leadership of Dupont and Conoco will have special benefits for themselves by carrying out very energetic and prominent lobbying activity in Congress. The union of these two represents a force that will necessarily receive special attention on the (Congressional) hill."

Characteristics of the Fierce Battle

The U.S. and English press and academic circles have all come to consider the Dupont takeover of Conoco as the unsurpassed takeover battle in the history of the development of U.S. capitalism. The capital of Dupont is even 1-odd billion less than that of Conoco, yet they took over this large oil company. Mobil's abundant capital brought the offering price to around \$20 more per share than Dupont's offer, but their defeat was by Dupont's hands. Very early Seagram had a formal proposal to purchase Conoco stocks (in fact, they had in their hands a considerable amount of Conoco stocks), yet from start to finish they encountered a cold reception from the Board of Directors of Conoco.

This struggle demonstrates that the activity of big U.S. capital in internal and foreign competition gets fiercer and further away from normal practices. Consequently, several unusual phenomena were seen.

First, those involved in this battle were exclusively the number one and number two corporations of the United States. There were also several other corporations, such as the number three big U.S. oil company, Texaco, the number four big oil company, Standard Oil of California, which were also covetously eyeing the prey and waiting for an opportunity to act.

Second, Dupont ultimately used the huge sum of U.S. \$7.6 billion to takeover Conoco. This is more than full double of the record set in 1979 when Shell Oil Co purchased Belridge Oil Co for U.S. \$3.6 billion.

Third, the purchasing and takeover divisions of large investment banks assigned large numbers of lawyers and consultants to appear personally to fight for businesses. Morgan Stanley and Co was the representative for Conoco. Dupont's representative was First Boston Corp. Mobil's representative was Meilin [phonetic] Co. Initially, Gedman Sacks [phonetic] Co represented Seagram. When Seagram proposed to purchase 41 percent of Conoco's stocks, Gedman Sacks Co withdrew, and Seagram switched to Xiersun [phonetic] Co and Lasaer [phonetic] Brothers. According to the U.S. press analysis, the reason for this was that Gedman Sacks Co had very friendly "relations" with Morgan Stanley & Co for a long time. When the lawyers of the takeover divisions of these finance companies enter into battle they turn white-hot and all night long they keep watch by the side of the telephone and the fluorescent screens of electronic computers. According to press reports, just in this one trade war, First Boston Corp and Morgan Stanley each got a commission of U.S. \$15 million.

Fourth, the largest banks of the United States, Europe and Canada are the general backstage supporters of the current takeover wars. Strictly speaking, on the surface these are intense struggle between big corporations, but in reality there are big banks behind these companies that are out to get each other. Dupont got a \$4 billion loan from Chase Manhattan to buy the stock shares in cash. Mobil obtained an agreement with First (Huaqi) Bank that it could draw on U.S. \$5 billion when ever necessary for trade purposes. Seagram received the backing of the Bank of Montreal of Canada. Although Texaco had not formerly entered the battle, they nevertheless made an agreement with Chase Manhattan Bank that they could draw on U.S. \$5.5 billion for trade whenever necessary. At the same time, several other small oil companies such as (Marathon) Oil Co and Lichafeierde [phonetic] Oil Co, afraid of being acquired by big oil companies have also raised many funds for self-protection.

Foreign magazines report that to conduct this war, large banks and related finance companies have altogether raised in excess of U.S. \$30 billion cash.

Current Takeover Winds

From the struggle for Conoco by Dupont and several other companies and the victory of Dupont, one can see that big U.S. capitalists are taking each other over with such desperation that, according to statistics, just in the first half of 1981 there had been 55 mergers involving U.S. \$100 million and 12 mergers involving over U.S. \$500 million, making a total of U.S. \$35.7 billion. This figure is already close to the total merger assets for all of 1980: U.S. \$44.3 billion.

The takeover winds blow over almost every area of the U.S. business and financial worlds, from the credit and loan industry, manufacturing industry, oil industry and agriculture, to such high technology industries as that of electronic calculators. All are trying to take each other over, and it is making the public dizzy. At the beginning of this article it was mentioned that Salomon Brothers Co was purchased by Phibro. In addition, Wall Street's well known Shearson, Luo-ye-bu and Rhodes Co [phonetic], Di-long-li-de Co [phonetic], Bache Inc and Dean Witter Reynolds Co of San Francisco were all purchased by large corporations in 1981. Of course, in this round of takeover wars, what was most obviously shown was the particularly large oil companies took over big, medium and small oil companies and other companies. This large-scale wave of takeovers in contemporary U.S. history is a development that deserves special attention. It will have far-reaching effect on the economic and political activities of the United States for the final 10 or 20 years of the 20th century.

In sum, this type of unprecedented, intense struggles and takeovers reflects a series of problems confronting big U.S. capitalists.

First, for several years in a row the U.S. economy has been depressed and, in general, the profits of companies are continuously falling. On the other hand, a small number of oil and chemical companies have amassed large sums in the past several years that require outlets. Because the cost and expenses

continue to rise, it requires greater capital to make new investments. Because of this, investments in building new factories are not as good as acquiring existing factories. This condition greatly encouraged the takeover winds.

Second, the more the sources of raw materials are fought over the more intense the battle becomes. Dupont, therefore, had to borrow huge sums of money to purchase Conoco simply to insure a supply of raw materials (70 to 80 percent of which is oil and natural gas) for the company's produce. Since the price of oil has swelled since 1973, Dupont has incurred a large deficit. Although Dupont's use of coal as a raw material for chemicals is still in the exploration stage, the strategy of large U.S. corporations is that planning and preparing for 20 years in advance is necessary, and the synthesis of coal for chemical materials is very much a prospect of the 1990s or the 21st century. Evidently, Seagram also wanted to buy Conoco to increase their possession of oil reserves and to make their company even more diversified. Mobil also wanted to takeover Conoco to increase their sources of crude oil, for in the United States, newly discovered oil fields that possess economic value are becoming less and less numerous. Old oil fields are not "bottomless pits"--their output decreases. Because of this, the fight for proven oil fields becomes an even more intense struggle.

Third, the crude oil used within the United States still comes in considerable amounts from the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. The situations in these regions is now very turbulent. The policies of the United States are also not very popular there. Last year, after the United States knocked down two Libyan aircrafts, U.S.-Libya relations were very strained. The U.S. government then demanded that U.S. oil companies in Libya withdraw. Allegedly in November of last year Exxon Corp had already withdrawn from Libya. Mobil was also considering leaving. As was previously noted, Conoco was considering this factor when they decided to merge with Dupont.

Fourth, since World War II U.S. business within and without the United States have been undergoing a most intense struggle. Dupont is the number one U.S. chemical company, but in terms of supplies of raw materials, it lagged behind Dow Chemical Industries Corp and Monsanto Co. Therefore, although Dupont carried a debt (according to the interest rates calculated at that time, the interest is U.S. \$600 million per annum), they still wanted to takeover Conoco. Besides dealing with the competition of the two, strong opponents in the United States, Dupont also has to deal with the competition of the national chemical companies of Western Europe and Japan, and the competition of German chemical companies in particular--such as Hoechst Co, Bayer Chemical Co and BASF Co. The weak position of the U.S. dollar was another reason why Dupont's competitive position was very poor. In the fierce war to takeover Conoco, besides the previously mentioned reasons, Mobil tendered a very high price only to be defeated by Dupont. Among the large oil corporations, such as Mobil and Exxon, the overt and covert rivalry between Mobil and Texaco was also one of the important factors for the defeat of Mobil.

Fifth, Dupont's successful takeover of Conoco has been one of the important reasons for the realization of a series of mergers and acquisitions within

the United States in the past one or two years. This is also significantly related to the Reagan Administration's approach in relaxing the control over the merger of large companies. Since the end of the 19th century, the United States has had a series of antitrust laws that attempt to restrict the activity of U.S. trusts and various forms of takeovers. But the existence of these laws does not really restrict the concentration and centralization of the capital of large corporations. The powerful competitors are sometimes able to exploit such legislation as a means of struggle. For the past couple of years such bills have been increasingly relaxed. During the Carter Administration, controls over railroad transportation prices and the takeover of railroad companies were relaxed twice. As a result, a series of takeovers or merges of railroad companies were "promoted." After the Reagan Administration assumed power, a series of measures were taken that actually announced the bankruptcy of the "antitrust laws." In June 1981 Regan's Attorney General Smith made a public statement on the problem of large enterprises taking over each other: "The bigness of enterprises is not necessarily a bad thing." He went a step further when he commented on the problem of the relationship of takeovers with antitrust laws: "(We) should not jeopardize the development of companies' high efficiency under the cover of executing antitrust laws." The Assistant Attorney General Baxter, who is specifically responsible for examining "antitrust" cases, pointed out in a 6 August 1981 interview with a reporter for "U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT": "it does not take a genius to figure out that the antitrust policy of the Reagan Administration is different from that of past administrations, and people are considering mergers that they would have been somewhat hesitant about before." In this interview, Baxter had more positive things to say about the mergers of large corporations. In March 1982, Baxter again issued a statement defending the merging craze of large corporations. That Reagan and Baxter support the practice of the merger of large corporations is also shown in their recension of two of the biggest cases in the history of U.S. "antitrust laws," namely, the prosecution of "IBM Corp." (allegedly this corporation supplied a total of 7.6 billion pages of relevant documents for supporting testimony for this case) and AT&T. Nevertheless, Baxter accused the Supreme Court for implementing the antitrust laws, saying, "In the 1960s, in light of the widespread hostility from the mergers of large corporations, the Supreme Court made a series of abstruse and utterly groundless theories on the harmfulness of the merging of large companies." Besides this, the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the famous right-wing Senator, Semengde [phonetic], also supports the merger activities of large corporations. In fact, before Dupont took over Conoco it had already received the tactic consent of the concerned parties in Washington. Therefore, the matter proceeded in a favorable way for Dupont.

Takeover Trends in the Future

Dupont's take over of Conoco is the largest takeover in the U.S. history of capital merger, but it will not necessarily be the only one. U.S. business and media circles have given numerous conjectures, but the future of the takeover wave among large U.S. corporations has still to be developed in depth.

Carrying on this fierce war is the fight between U.S. Steel Corp and Mobil over Marathon Oil (the 36th largest U.S. oil company with total assets of nearly U.S. \$6 billion). The war started at the end of October 1981 and finished in mid-March--extending over a 3 month period. In the end, U.S. Steel Corp bid U.S. \$6 billion and with the backing of Morgan Guarantee Trust Co, was victorious over Mobil.

According to the analysis in FORTUNE magazine, U.S. oil companies have now arrived at a new turning point, necessitating a "diarrhoea medicine." Since 1973 oil prices have risen nine-fold, and within the United States various medium and small oil companies have emerged as the times required. Due to the rise of prices and the expansion of the oil industry, the profits of oil and chemical corporations now account for 46 percent of the total profits of U.S. companies. Now that there is a temporary world-wide oil surplus, U.S. oil company profits have already dropped, and the medium and small oil enterprises have had to continuously borrow ready cash to confront their various expenses. The depression of the U.S. oil industry has already spread to Denver and Houston where the oil industry had been flourishing for the past several years. The Chairman of the Board of Exxon--the largest oil company in the United States--Kawen [phonetic], said proudly that now more and more oil-well drillers are considering merging with Exxon in exchange for urgently needed ready cash. Because of this, now is a good time for large oil companies with large cash holdings to cheaply acquire medium and small oil companies. A manager of a Houston consulting firm estimated that in the summer of 1983 500 to 600 independent oil companies will be acquired. The top oil analyst for First Boston Corp said that the "adjustment" of this industrial sector will be "ruthless."

For the past several years the greatly developed electronic calculator industry has also carried out intense merger wars. For example, Bendix Corp which has a large amount of ready cash announced in March of this year that it will purchase 9.9 percent of the stock of a well-known U.S. Radio Co.

The larger investment banks are taking over medium and small investment banks, and the larger savings and trust banks are also quickly taking over medium and small savings and trust banks. It is now very popular for the larger manufacturing industrial companies to take over companies in the mining industry.

At the same time as this, the largest U.S. investment banks have one after another established or enlarged their takeover departments in order to have a hand in the merger activities. In 1980 only First Boston Corp handled the takeover of enterprises with a value in excess of U.S. \$5.7 billion, and their 1981 business is estimated to have increased 100 percent over the previous year. The takeover department of this bank has now already grown to 20-odd people. Lawyers and specialists engaged in takeovers all of a sudden became very wealthy, with annual salaries of some being in excess of U.S. \$1 million.

In addition, the successful agreement to a merger is not tantamount to the end of the struggle. In fact, a new struggle is already born in the first

battle. For example, although Seagram did not take over Conoco, they did purchase 20 percent of Dupont's stocks in that battle and will have a considerably great say in Dupont's affairs. This will be a hidden danger for Dupont. Similarly, Mobil also purchased a considerable amount of U.S. Steel Corp's stock (on one occasion Mobil threatened to want to purchase 25 percent of this company's stocks). This is also a real headache for U.S. Steel Corp.

Generally speaking, takeover struggles are not greatly detrimental for the leadership of the company that is being taken over. For example, during the early stages of negotiating a merger agreement with Cities Services, the Board of Directors of Conoco made appropriate arrangements for their own prospects: thus, they concluded and signed new (employment) contracts that guaranteed that the managements' salaries would remain unchanged up to mid-1984 and that the Chairman of the Board's annual salary of U.S. \$637,700 will be retained until 1989 and that if he talks about wanting to resign he will be sure of getting a one-time amount of at least U.S. \$3,500,000. In this battle, because of the rise of Conoco's stock, these people, indeed, gained a large amount of cash. After the takeover, Dupont promised to keep Conoco's leadership unchanged. For this they were really subjected to assaults by not a few middle and lower level office staff and numerous workers, many of whom were dismissed because of the reorganization in the takeover. The latter were thus cast into the enormous ranks of the unemployed. In the 23rd chapter of "Das Kapital," Marx used a scientific method to expound and prove "the absolute and universal law of capitalist accumulation." In the United States of the 1980s they are still giving free reign to this law: On the one hand, there is the accumulation of wealth and, on the other hand, there is the accumulation of poverty, and in contemporary United States the scope of poverty is expanding.

Since 1981 the development of the U.S. peace movement has involved many middle level staff and workers and is very different from the student and black movements of the 60's. Besides the anti-nuclear war element, the basic reason here is that the accumulation and concentration of U.S. capital directly affects the basic interests of the extensive middle class and the continued increase of the rise of commodity prices and taxes, high interest, etc. The economic poverty of Americans continues to deepen, and as a result, the class contradiction of society daily intensify so that the depth and breadth of the contradiction now surpasses that of any period in U.S. history. The further deterioration of the U.S. economy will cause this type of contradiction to become even more acute.

Among U.S. capitalists, those economists who have some slight eye movement see this "merger madness" engulf Wall Street, New York and the entire United States, but without any advantages for the present U.S. economic crisis that is getting more serious with each passing day. On the contrary, it is adding fuel to the flames. Alfred Cohen, a teacher in the Economics Department of Cornell University, said: "The vast majority of takeovers do not have the slightest economic benefit. The reason for the success of takeovers is that large bank notes are obtained."

The analysis of these economists is: First, takeovers require the expenditure of large funds, but since there is not an increase of investments there is also no increase of facilities, which is of no help for the growth of employment and the economy. Second, the absorption of the considerably large businesses that are acquired is very much a problem which, if handled poorly, brings them to a deficit. Third, large businesses become even larger and the development of bureaucracies becomes even more serious. However, quite obviously what the big bourgeois thinks about is profit and not the long-term benefit of the country's economy.

The concentration of economic power necessarily leads to the concentration of political power. A Palm Beach, Florida business consultant worriedly said: "The awe-inspiring economic and political power obtained by giant corporations constitutes a threat to our democratic system. When the economy of the whole country is all concentrated in the hands of a small group of giant corporations, the next critical step is for these giant corporations to take over the government apparatus." Even though this argument is somewhat exaggerated, still it vividly and correctly illustrates the extremely great influence that concentrated economic strength has on political power. In recent years, especially since the Reagan Administration assumed power, the intricate contradictions between the U.S. Cabinet members, White House officials and Congressmen became severer and severer. To a considerable degree this political situation precisely reflects the economy with the acute changes of the intense struggles and relations of production among the monopoly capitalist class. From now on, these struggles among one another will be even more intense.

12269

CSO: 4005/434

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI CADRES TO ATTEND UNIVERSITIES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Wang Chu [3769 2806]: "Giving the Cadres Wings to Fly, Group of Leading Cadres from Hubei Attends University"]

[Text] Starting last year, over 400 party and political leading cadres at various levels from Hubei province passed examinations to enter the cadre classes of eight universities, training schools and colleges, including Wuhan University and Huazhong Normal College. The period of schooling is 3 years, and the students return to their original units to work after graduation.

This group of party and political cadre university students has worked for a minimum of 8 years before entering the schools, and has a high school level of education. The organizing department of the provincial CPC Committee and the institutions and schools concerned carried out a conscientious selection of students and gave them a standardized examination to ensure student quality. These eight universities, training schools and colleges are providing a specified group of teachers for this group of party and political leading cadre university students; teaching plans and courses are tightly structured around raising the students' level of Marxism-Leninism and their level of economic management. This group of students has many years of practical work experience, are very eager to gain scientific knowledge, and often study until late at night. They happily told the reporter: "The leaders in allowing us to leave production and enter the university to study is like giving us wings to fly. We must make the best use of precious time, and master scientific knowledge as quickly as possible, so as to adapt to the demands of the four modernizations."

12326

CSO: 4005/664

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES ENCOURAGED TO SUPPORT INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Feng Yue [7458 1878] in the column "Ideology Critique": "Be a 'Bosom Friend' of Intellectuals"]

[Text] Some comrades, when talking about the problem of carrying out the policy on intellectuals, would emphatically raise the point that intellectuals are not "after money," but want to work, and want to work with their minds at ease.

This is very true, and indeed reflects the heartfelt wishes of the masses of intellectuals.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the fact that the treatment and working conditions of intellectuals are in dire need of improvement. Leaders at all levels have already taken some steps in this area, and even if the problem is far from being completely resolved, at least we finally have a good beginning. However, improving living and working conditions is not really the goal. What the masses of intellectuals demand is that they be able to give full play to their abilities and to contribute to socialist construction. Viewing their work as more important than their lives is a tradition of China's outstanding intellectuals. On this point, some comrades still lack adequate understanding.

There is an old saying, "The scholar will die for his bosom friend." Intellectuals want only to be able to gain people's trust and respect, and to have the opportunity to put their abilities and ambitions to good use whereby they would totally commit themselves, and would not hesitate to go through fire or water.

In the early period of liberation, many intellectuals took the Chinese Communist Party to be their bosom friend. They gave up excellent pay and conditions, broke through all sorts of obstacles, and resolutely returned home to China to join in the socialist construction of the homeland. Why? Because they experienced the period of the Kuomintang's reactionary rule. At that time, intellectuals had no opportunity to dedicate themselves to the service of their country; they wanted to work for the homeland, but could not. Some people dejectedly went far away to

wander aimlessly in a foreign land. After liberation, they saw how the Communist Party sincerely wanted to build up our country, and that they respected, cared about and trusted intellectuals. The socialist new China, under the leadership of the Communist Party, did indeed offer them a vast field of activity to put their intelligence and wisdom into full play.

However, in the period following, this relationship met with serious hindrance and disruption. In the 10 years of turmoil, large numbers of intellectuals were not only stripped of their right to work, but were also reduced to the ranks of the "stinking old nine," whereupon people became apprehensive and startled, and some even became dejected and full of despair. They could not comprehend how all this came about, and why intellectuals had become an alien force.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the happiest thing for the intellectuals is nothing more than regaining their right to work, and gaining the opportunity to put their abilities to good use and to contribute their efforts to the four modernizations. During these past few years, even if some problems which should be solved still cannot all at once be solved, even if the living, study and work conditions of some people are still quite poor, and even if they still frequently encounter some unpleasant things in their work, many comrades are still full of enthusiasm and vigor, and do their utmost in working for the Party and the people. Is this kind of spirit not worthy of people's respect?

The Communist Party is the "bosom friend" of intellectuals. Leading cadres at all levels should all become "bosom friends" of intellectuals. They should respect their true sense of devotion to their work, fully understand their burning desire to do their work well, and try hard to create for them all the necessary conditions. Only by accomplishing these can one call himself a "bosom friend" of intellectuals, and say that one is truly carrying out the Party's policy on intellectuals.

12326

CSO: 4005/664

PARTY AND STATE

PROFESSOR DISMISSED FOR 'LEFTIST' BEHAVIOR

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Wu Xinghua [0702 5281 5478]: "Those Who Persist in Their Errors Cannot Be Tolerated, Hunan University Dismisses Gong Xianzhang from His Post"]

[Text] On 15 March, the CPC Committee and school administration leaders of Hunan University decided that Gong Xianzhang [7895 2009 4545], party branch secretary and head of the radio teaching and research section of the Electrical Engineering Department and concurrently head of the teaching and research section laboratory, could no longer assume his leadership duties inside and outside of the party because he had committed, among other things, the errors of taking credit for the results of other people's work, harmed and inhibited the enthusiasm of the faculty, and still refused to admit his error and correct it after undergoing education. The head of the teaching and research section and head of the teaching and research section laboratory are to be chosen democratically by the faculty and a party branch secretary has been temporarily appointed by the Party Committee.

Gong Xianzhang has been profoundly influenced by "leftist" thinking. When he held the office of responsible person for the teaching and research section, he harmed and inhibited the enthusiasm of the faculty. More than half of the faculty could not tolerate his harmful behavior, and demanded that he be transferred out of the teaching and research section. Although Gong Xianzhang had only participated in the discussions, formating and proofreading of the book entitled, "Principles and Design of Crystal Tube Receiver Circuits," written by Associate Professor Ding Zhong-qi [0002 6988 1142], he nevertheless used all sorts of improper means to stubbornly insist on signing his own name inside the book, and thus incited strong dissatisfaction on the part of many of the faculty members. On 16 June of last year, GUANGMING RIBAO exposed and criticized this matter. But the original party committee of the school, without exercising the least bit of principle, protected Gong Xianzhang, and never dealt with him. At the end of last year, Gong Xianzhang was still evaluated as an "out-standing individual" of the department, and for this he received a "class-A award."

After this newspaper published letters from Professor Shi Renqiu [4258 0117 3808] and Associate Professor Peng Zhaofan [1756 5128 5672] of the school on 24 February of this year, the school party committee carried out a serious criticism and help session for Gong Xianzhang, but he refused to carry out self-criticism or to correct his error. It should be pointed out that Gong Xianzhang's daring to be this bold cannot be separated from the incorrect thought line of certain school leaders, and how they for a long period sided with him and encouraged him. For the past several years, a person with this kind of public indignation against him was evaluated, year after year, as being an "outstanding party member" and "advanced individual" of the school, and the party branch he headed was even evaluated as being an "advanced party branch." Because of this, in order to make a person like Gong Xianzhang recognize his error and correct his error, the entire school must root out the pernicious influence of "leftism," and clearly distinguish right from wrong in the questions of politics and ideology, and must also have a strong, unflinching leader.

12326

CSO: 4005/664

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION BUILDING MAKES PROGRESS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Mar 83 p 4

[Article reported by Zhang Shusheng [1728 6615 5110] and Guo Longchun [6753 7893 2504]: "Lanzhou PLA Unit Makes Progress in Building Spiritual Civilization by Strengthening Cultural Studies, Having Deep Love for the Northwest and Promoting Improvement of the Social Mood"]

[Text] The Lanzhou PLA units have made continual progress in building spiritual civilization, and in the past year or so they have produced 4,200 advanced groups with 31,000 advanced persons.

The gradual progress toward profound, new developments made by the Lanzhou PLA units in building spiritual civilization is demonstrated in the following examples.

While resolutely engaged in correct ideological construction, the units also greatly strengthened culture building, and the cadres and the soldiers initiated a vigorous upsurge in marching toward science and culture. In showing proper respect for the directive of the leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee concerning training of the companies and the dual functions of local human talent, each and every unit strengthened education in science, culture and all areas of technology. First of all, the 2nd Company of the Communications Corps of the Lanzhou PLA unit started up an applied science and technology study group in which the cadres and soldiers studied areas of knowledge such as mathematics and physics and studied professional and technical knowledge such as radio repair, electronics, woodworking and hair cutting and hair dressing. There were 23 soldiers who passed the unit's technical school entrance exams. More than 50 of the 71 old, retired soldiers were able to use the skills they learned while serving in the unit to find employment. In terms of cadre education, units above division successively established rotating companies for cadre culture training so that cadres lacking a junior middle school education could take supplementary culture courses.

In carrying out patriotic education, the special features of the region were integrated with thoroughgoing teaching of deep love for the Great Northwest and devotion to the socialist revolution. The Lanzhou units forged a unified educational outline and compiled teaching materials. Leadership cadres from all levels of the military and the government went to the companies where they spoke on the long history of the Northwest, its abundant material resources and its important strategic location. They encouraged the cadres to reflect upon the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Northwest and on the successful construction there ever since Liberation. The broad soldiers and cadres formed lofty ambitions to build and protect the Great Northwest. The 200 cadres and soldiers on garrison duty in a certain regiment resolutely proclaimed, "Do not hanker after the beauty of southern scenery, but relish the role of guarding the frontiers of the Gobi desert." More and more progressive elements are making a stand in the border areas and carrying on the bitter struggle.

Go forth from the camps and undertake activities in which the army and the people work together to build spiritual civilization and forge links between the army and the government and between the army and the people in order to promote a turn for the better in the social mood. At present, in the four provinces of Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia and Qinghai the army and the people are sharing in the construction in a total of 364 "civilized villages" and "civilized hospitals." In Qianxian County of Shaanxi province the People's Armored Corps and the concerned departments cooperated in starting up over 8,700 "young militia families." After the army and the people "shared in construction," this promoted improvements in village and school conditions and the social mood took a turn for the better, which in turn strengthened the unity between the military and the local area. The division's cadres and soldiers also derived political nourishment from the process.

Recently, the Lanzhou division convened a conference to award the division's advanced individuals and the units which are advanced in spiritual civilization, to sum up and exchange experiences and to struggle to improve the level of building spiritual civilization.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PARTY COMMITTEE OF PLA DIVISION COMMENDED FOR GOOD STYLE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Xu Xiangdong [6079 3276 2639] and Liu Donggeng [0491 2639 5087] of the Nanjing NCNA: "Party Committee of A Certain Nanjing PLA Division Commended for Good Party Style: A Good Party Style Produces a Good Army Style and Promotes Construction of Spiritual Culture"]

[Text] The party committee of the Nanjing PLA units recently circulated a commendation given to the party committee of a certain division for good work in rectifying party style and asked that party units of all levels emulate them in using good party style to produce a good army style and to promote the construction of spiritual culture.

The party committee of this division was determined to carry out reforms and boldly created new paths. During the last few years, the training of the military and the administration throughout the division achieved obvious accomplishments. This was especially true in the area of dual functions for local human talent in the strengthened construction of company clubs and the training of the companies. They responded to the special features and needs of the new period by being in the forefront of all units in smashing ideological obstacles. The General Political Department approved of and moreover popularized their experiences.

In livelihood, the party committee of this division is highly disciplined, honest in performing official duties and joins with the masses in "sharing what is available or doing without when not available." When the government allocates materials they steadfastly receive the same allocation as the other cadres. When they go to the companies to gain firsthand experiences they share the same food and quarters with the soldiers and do not live at their expense. They strictly observe the regulations on vehicle use and rarely use them for personal reasons. When they have no resort they do so, but promptly make restitution for the mileage. The division party committee has never used public funds for entertainment or feasting. Altogether, more than ten military region leadership comrades have come to investigate leadership work and

and all were given the standard fare. When members of the division party committee are transferred or retire from office they simply are given a farewell tea party.

During these few years, several leaders from upper level government offices or brother-units have made calls on the members of this division party committee to request that their children serving in this brigade be given preference for party membership, cadre promotion, advanced studies or grade-level promotion. The division party committee unified their thinking regarding such requests and no matter who makes such requests of whom, they cannot be honored. Gao Junjie [7559 0913 2638], the party committee secretary and political commissar, has an old comrade-in-arms whose daughter works in the division hospital. The old comrade-in-arms called up Gao Junjie one day to ask that his daughter be sent to a local school for advanced studies, but this was not done. They never used their official position to arrange jobs for their relatives, get their children into the army or the party, get promotions or be recruited for work, nor have they sought special benefits for themselves.

When any individual members of the division party committees exhibit any improper behavior the others bravely overcome their personal feelings and resolutely carry out punishment and corrective measures. The division's weapons section had some people who took public property to use in forging relationships and gain favors. The problem involved various members of the division party committee and spread to some people in the upper level leadership offices. The department for investigating discipline encountered strong opposition when they made a thorough investigation. After hearing two reports on the matter the division party committee strongly supported the department for investigating discipline: "No matter where the investigation may lead there must be resolute pursuit of the true facts!" The department for investigating discipline completed their work and the members of the party committee who were implicated then received severe criticism and re-education.

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CSO: 4005/663

RELIGIOUS ISSUE AMONG MINORITY NATIONALITIES DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGYANG MINZU XUEYUAN XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF CENTRAL NATIONALITIES COLLEGE] in Chinese No 3, 15 Aug 82 pp 13-18, 69

[Article by Liu E [0491 6948], He Run [0149 3387] and Wang Guodong [3769 0948 2767]: "Correctly Understand the Religious Issue Among the Minority Nationalities and Thoroughly Implement the Party's Policy on Religion"]

[Text] I. The Situation of Religious Belief Among Our Country's Minority Nationalities

Among our country's minority nationalities, many of them have religious beliefs. The major religions that are practiced in the areas inhabited by minority nationalities are Buddhism, Islamism, Christianity, Catholicism, Shamanism, the East Pakistan religion, Taoism and the Orthodox Eastern Church. Among them, Buddhism has enjoyed nearly 2,000 years of history in our country, Taoism has had over 1,700 years of history, Islamism has had over 1,300 years of history while Catholicism and Christianity have developed more extensively primarily since after the Opium War.

The Buddhism that is handed down in the areas inhabited by minority nationalities in our country is again divided into Lamaism (Western Tibetan Buddhism) and the low order Buddhism. Lamaism is the high order Buddhism that was formed as a result of the influence by the original religion practiced by the Tibetan nationality. The believers of Lamaism are primarily the Tibetan nationality, the Mongolian nationality, the Tu nationality, the Uygur nationality and the Moinba nationality. The believers of the low order Buddhism are primarily the Dai nationality, the Benglong nationality, the Blang nationality, the Achang nationality in Yunnan Province, and there are people among the Va nationality who are also believers. The believers of Islamism are the following 10 nationalities: the Hui nationality, the Uygur nationality, the Kazak nationality, the Kirgiz nationality, the Tatar nationality, the Ozbek nationality, the Tajik nationality, the Dongxiang nationality, the Bonan nationality, and the Salar nationality. Statistics of the initial period after the Liberation showed that approximately some 4.6 million people believed in Buddhism and approximately 8 million or more people believed in Islamism. Among the minority nationalities, 12 to 13 million people believe in Buddhism and Islamism, approximately one-third of the total population of minority

nationalities. In the regions where Islamism and Lamaism were popular, there were mosques and Buddhist temples all over the cities and rural areas, and there were many people who held religious positions such as monks, nuns, lamas and imams.

Among the Miao nationality, the Yi nationality, the Jingpo nationality, the Lahu nationality, the Va nationality, the Bai nationality, the Lisu nationality, the Nu nationality, the Drung nationality and the Naxi nationality, there are some people who believe in Christianity or Catholicism. Among the Oroqen nationality, the Ewenki nationality, the Hezhen nationality, the Xibe nationality, the Man nationality and the Daur nationality, there are some people who believe in Shamanism. The Eluosi nationality believes in the Orthodox Eastern Church. The ancient East Pakistan religion was once practiced among the Naxi nationality. Among the Jing nationality, the Mulam nationality, the Bai nationality and the Yi nationality, there are people who believe in Taoism.

Furthermore, the Zhuang nationality, the Bouyei nationality, the Dong nationality, the Yao nationality, the Hani nationality and the Shui nationality do not have organized religious beliefs, but they believe in deities or the primitive polytheism, and have strong superstitious beliefs.

The above describes the general situation of religious beliefs among our country's minority nationalities before the Liberation and in the initial period after the Liberation. In the old China, overall speaking, in the protracted feudal society and for more than a century of semifeudal and semicolonialist society, many religions in our country had once been controlled and employed by the ruling class and had played an extremely passive role. After the Liberation, through the reform of the social economic system and the reform of the feudal suppressive and exploitative system in religion, the condition of our country's religions has undergone a fundamental change. For instance, the situation in the past of an all-nationality belief in Lamaism or Islamism among some nationalities has changed. Now, many people have freed themselves from the shackles of religion and have become materialists and atheists. Or for instance, in some areas inhabited by nationalities, the system of integration of the church and the state and the feudal system of suppression and exploitation which the religious temples and clergy practiced toward the masses of believers before the Liberation have been abolished. Now, the contradiction on the religious issue has become primarily a contradiction among the people. This is a tremendous change. It is wrong to not recognize this change. However, the religious issue will still exist within a definite realm over a long period of time and has a definite mass characteristic to it. In many places, it is still interwoven with the nationalities issue, and is still influenced by the class struggle within a definite realm and by the complex international environment. Thus, whether or not the religious issue is handled appropriately will have an important influence which we cannot overlook on the unity among the nationalities and the stability of the nation, as well as on the building of a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. It is also wrong and very dangerous to not recognize such a situation.

II. Correctly Understand the Objective Laws of the Birth, Development and Withering Away of Religion

Our party has adopted the policy of freedom of religious belief. This policy was put forward as early as in the period of the democratic revolution and was implemented in the revolutionary base areas. In 1945, comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in "On Coalition Government" that: "All religions are permitted in China's Liberated Areas, in accordance with the principle of freedom of religious belief. All believers of Protestantism, Catholicism, Islamism, Buddhism and other faiths enjoy protection of the people's government so long as they are abiding by its laws. Everyone is free to believe or not to believe; neither compulsion nor discrimination is permitted."¹ After the nation's founding, this was clearly stipulated in the "Common Program" and the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China." In the Constitution that was passed at the 5th NPC, it was stipulated that: "Citizens have the freedom to believe in religion and the freedom to not believe in religion and to propagate atheism."

The fact that our party has adopted the policy of freedom of religious belief is determined by the laws of the birth, development and withering away of religion.

Religion was not present as soon as there was a society of mankind, but was born after the primitive society had developed to a certain historical stage. Engels said: "Religion was born in the most primitive age from man's mistaken and most primitive concepts about his own nature and his surrounding external nature."²

In the early stage of the history of mankind, men were as yet unable to comprehend the structure of their own body and the physiological activities of the human body. They did not understand why man had to dream and did not understand the infinite variety of fantastic phenomenon in dreams. They therefore erroneously felt that the activities in dreams were not the physiological activities of the human body but were an independent thing--the activities of the soul. From a primitive man's point of view, the soul resided in the human body. When man slept, the soul left the human body to go about its activities, and after man died the soul would leave the body. Since the soul could leave the human body to go about its activities, then after man died, the soul would not die. Hence, the concept of the immortal soul was born. The custom of burying the dead with funerary objects had its source in the immortal soul.

At the same time, the primitive men could not comprehend their surrounding nature. Because the productivity was too low, primitive men were controlled by nature in every aspect. They not only could not understand such natural phenomena as the operation of the heavenly bodies, the changes of seasons, and the happenings of wind, storm, thunder and lightning, but they also developed fears toward such threats as extreme heat, cold, wild animals, epidemic diseases, flood, fire, and early death. They felt that all this was governed consciously by an invisible and tremendous force. This force was the dictator of the society of mankind and all natural phenomena and was

irresistible. All the disasters that descended on man were punishments from the dictator. Thus, the primitive men began to worship this imagined dictator, and went further to humanize it, and attempted to employ all kinds of methods to pray for the relief from disasters, for good fortune and for the conversion of ill into good luck. We can see that the religious belief of primitive man was a manifestation of helplessness toward the natural forces, and was the result of a distorted explanation of mankind and nature. This is the cognitive root for the birth of religion.

In the class society, besides the natural forces, men suffered from another force that was equally fearful and equally irresistible, and that was the domination by the system of class suppression and exploitation. Men suffered from the domination of this blind and alien force in society and were unable to shake loose. The laboring people were plunged into fear and despair by the tremendous suffering brought about by the system of exploitation. The exploiting class found it necessary to use religion as an important spiritual measure to numb and control the laboring people. This was the most profound social root of the existence and development of religion under the system of exploitation. Lenin said: "Not having the strength to wage struggle against the exploiters, it is inevitable that men look for happiness after death. This is like the barbarian who, not having the strength to struggle against nature, gives birth to the belief in God, the devil and miracles."³ In the class society, under the class suppression and class exploitation, the laboring people suffered painful devastation which was more fearful than such natural disasters as earthquakes. Thus, they harbored more fear toward such social oppression. Hence the argument "fear creates spirit."⁴ The root of modern religion is the fear of men toward the blind force of capitalism. The reason why such a force is fearful is that it can bring about at any time sudden and unexpected disasters, causing men to become bankrupt and unemployed, to become paupers and prostitutes and even to starve to death. Thus, Lenin said that the fear toward the blind force of capitalism was the most profound root of the existence and development of religion in the capitalist world at present.

In the socialist society, with the elimination of the system of exploitation and the exploiting class, the class root of the existence of religion has basically been eliminated. However, because the consciousness is still lagging behind reality, the old thinking, old customs and old traditional concepts that are handed down from the old society cannot be thoroughly eradicated in a short period of time. Because the social productivity is still not very high, the material wealth is still not abundant, and because the high level establishment of the socialist democracy and the high level advancement of culture, education, science and technology still require long term effort; because the various miseries that are brought about by some serious natural and man-made disasters cannot be thoroughly wiped out in a short period of time; and because there still exists a class struggle within a definite realm and a complex international environment, the influence of religion among some people in the socialist society also will inevitably exist for a long period of time.

But in the history of mankind, religion ultimately will wither away. This is an objective law that will not be altered by men's will. Engels said: "Tradition is a retarding force, is the force of inertia of history; but, being merely massive, is sure to be broken down; and thus religion will be no lasting safeguard to capitalist society. If our juridical, philosophical, and religious ideas are the more or less remote offshoots of the economical relations prevailing in a given society, such ideas cannot, in the long run, withstand the effects of a complete change in these relations."⁵ That is to say, the ultimate withering away of religion, like its birth, is inevitable. Then, what are the factors for the withering away of religion? Marx said: "The religious reflection of the real world can, in any case, only finally vanish, when the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations to his fellowmen and to nature. The life-process of society, i.e., the process of material production, will not shed its mystical veil until it becomes the product of freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan."⁶ Engels said: "When society, by seizing all the means of production and using them on a planned basis, has freed itself and all its members from the bondage they are now kept in by these means of production which they themselves have produced but which confront them as an overpowering alien force; when man no longer merely proposes, but also disposes--it is only then that the last alien force which is still reflected in religion will vanish and that the religious reflection itself will also vanish with it, for the simple reason that there will be nothing left to reflect."⁷ When the relationship between men and nature is extremely clearly and extremely reasonably expressed, when man no longer merely proposes, but disposes, then the time is ripe for the society of mankind to inevitably want to realize a communist society. By that time, classes will have been abolished, the material wealth will have become extremely abundant, and people will have been implementing the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." There will be no more worry about unemployment, starvation, and poverty. This way, the social root for the existence of religion will be uprooted. With the raising of culture and education and the high level development of science and technology, people not only will understand the law of development of the society of mankind, but will be able to control the development of the society of mankind and nature and enable nature to bring benefit to mankind. This way, the cognitive root for the existence of religion will no longer exist. Thus, religion will ultimately lose all the conditions for its existence; which is to say that it will move toward its ultimate home--natural withering away.

Although religion will ultimately wither away, yet it will be so through the long term development of socialism and communism and when all the factors for its withering away are present. With regard to religion, we cannot provide the conditions for its withering away by mere empty propaganda. It will not work to use the method of administrative decree to interfere with, prohibit or ban religion. If we do that, then we not only cannot weaken religion, but will stimulate people's religious feelings, stir up people's religious fervor and create conditions for the continual existence of religion. This has been proved by numerous historical experiences. The only correct method is to attract the broad masses from various aspects to take the

initiative in participating in the practical struggle to transform society and nature. "If the struggle of the proletariat itself to oppose the dark forces of capitalism does not enlighten the proletariat, then all the books and all the preachings will be of no avail."⁸ That is to say that guiding and organizing the broad masses of laboring people to carry out protracted revolutionary struggle and the struggle for production and to use their own hands to dig up the root of religion--the system of class suppression and exploitation, poverty and ignorance--is the only correct and effective means to shake off the shackles of religion and lead religion gradually to its doom. Under the terms of socialism, the fundamental solution to the religious issue can only be the gradual elimination of the social root and cognitive root for the existence of religion under the pretext of protecting the freedom of religious belief and through the development of the socialist economy, the cultural and scientific and technological cause and through the building of a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Such a cause is naturally not a short term one and cannot be done in three to five generations. It will only be realized through a long historical period and through the common struggle of several generations of the broad masses of believers and non-believers. By that time, men will have thoroughly shaken off the conditions of poverty and ignorance, will have been able to consciously regard the world and life with a scientific attitude, and will not have to seek spiritual sustenance in an illusory world of "God." That will be the time which Marx and Engels referred to as a time when the entire social life will be under the conscious and planned regulation of men's will, and when men no longer merely propose but dispose. Only when we enter such an age will the religious reflection in the real world vanish.

Our party has precisely proceeded from the above described law of development of religion and taken into consideration the religious beliefs of our country's minority nationalities in adopting the policy of freedom of religious belief.

In our country, the religious issue is an issue that has a nationality character and a mass character to it. Some religions, such as Islamism and Lamaism, have many followers, and among some nationalities, the people of the entire nationality are believers. The influence of religion has deeply pervaded the various aspects of these nationalities, including the economy, culture and social life. This influence of religion is oftentimes also interwoven with the nationalities issue. When religious discrimination and religious struggle take place among different nationalities, they very easily will bring on conflicts and struggles among the nationalities. That is to say, religious belief is not a small matter of individuals or a small number of people, but is an important matter involving many people and, in particular, involving the majority of workers, peasants and laboring people.

Among the religions that the various minority nationalities in our country follow, many of them are international in character. For instance, the four major religions of the world--Buddhism began in ancient India, Islamism began in today's Saudi Arabia, Christianity began in the Roman Empire, and Catholicism was separated from Christianity. These religions are separately

followed by people of many countries and nationalities throughout the world. Among them, some are even regarded as the state religion in some countries. Whether or not we do a good job regarding religion has a significant meaning in expanding our international contacts and in expanding our country's political influence.

These characteristics of religion, plus its long term character, make up its complexity. Historically, some leaders of the oppressed nationalities and oppressed people once made use of the banner of religion to mobilize and organize the oppressed masses of people to wage struggle against the oppressors. In our country, in the last years of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the leaders of the Yellow Turbans Uprising, Zhang Jue and his brother made use of the Road to Peace; at the close of the Qing Dynasty, Hong Xiuquan, the revolutionary leader of the Kingdom of Heavenly Peace, made use of the Church of God; and the Yihetuan Movement made use of Taoist incantations, and so on and so forth. These were methods of employing the form of religion to mobilize the masses of peasants to stand up and resist the suppression and rule of the feudal landlord class and imperialism. In order to mobilize the masses on a broader and more effective scale, and in order to increase their own authority and explain the rationality and righteousness of the struggle for resistance, the leaders of the uprisings put a religious cloak over the struggles. In this way, the inevitability of the class struggle was mingled with religion. Nevertheless, such conditions could not explain how religion itself has any positive meaning. Besides, in the middle ages, in many places, philosophy, politics and the law were lumped together with theology and were made subjects of theology. All these factors constituted the complexity of the religious issue. In modern times, colonialists and imperialists use religion as their tool to carry out aggression against and colonialist rule over the weaker and smaller countries and nationalities. Some churches have become their espionage organs. Some missionaries, priests and nuns have formed the special detachments for carrying out subversive, aggressive and counterrevolutionary sabotage activities under the guise of religious activities. This is a different category of contradiction that is different in nature from the issue of belief of the broad masses of religious believers. However, in real life, these two issues are often mingled together. Such a situation also brought about complexity to the religious issue.

These realities of religion and the religious issue exist objectively. In the long historical period in the future, these conditions will continue to exist. Furthermore, because religious belief is an issue of ideological understanding, the contradiction on the religious issue has become primarily a contradiction among the people in the new period of socialism. In solving the issue of ideological understanding among the people, we can only use the democratic method of persuasion and education. The purpose of studying and emphasizing these conditions of the religious issue is to correctly understand and have a good grasp of the trend of development of religion and the religious issue and bring them to people's attention so as to adopt an attitude of discreet, rigorous and careful consideration toward the issue. Thus, on the one hand, we should not exaggerate the gravity and complexity of the issue and panic, and yet, on the other hand, we must not belittle the existence of practical problems and their complexity, lower our guard and let the issue go unchecked.

III. Implement in an All Round Manner the Party's Policy of Freedom of Religious Belief

The party's basic policy toward the religious issue is to respect religion and protect freedom of religious belief. It is definitely not an expedient measure. As long as religion exists, this policy will continue to be implemented until the natural withering away of religion. Freedom of religious belief means that: Every citizen has the freedom of religious belief and also the freedom to not have religious belief; has freedom to believe in one form of religion as well as freedom to believe in another form of religion; and has freedom of changing from not having a religious belief in the past to have a religious belief at present, as well as freedom of changing from having a religious belief in the past to not having a religious belief now.

In accordance with this policy, every citizen is protected by the party and government with regard to the issue of religious belief. The protection of the freedom of religious belief is an all round one that protects people's freedom to have a religious belief as well as protects people's freedom to not have a religious belief. We cannot emphasize one aspect at the expense of the other. Any act that forces people who have a religious belief to give up their religious belief is wrong. Likewise, any act that forces people who do not have a religious belief to have a religious belief is also wrong. It is a violation of the state law to interpret the policy of freedom of religious belief as a freedom to have a religious belief and not a freedom to not have a religious belief, to even regard the masses who give up their religious beliefs as traitors and heretics and malign and attack them and impose such "punishment" as "dismissal from the nationality group." This will not be permitted by the party's policy.

The essence of the policy of freedom of religious belief is to enable the issue of religious belief to become an issue of freedom of choice for the individual citizen and to become the private affair of the individual citizen. That is to say, on the one hand, our socialist state power must absolutely not be used among all citizens to promote certain religions, and also must absolutely not be used to prohibit certain religions. As regards all the religions that are existing in our country at present, as long as normal religious beliefs and religious activities, the party and government will treat them alike and will not support certain religions or religious denominations and will not suppress certain religions or religious denominations. The party and government will not interfere with normal religious beliefs and religious activities. On the other hand, the socialist state power will absolutely not permit religion to interfere with state administration, interfere with the administration of justice, interfere with marriage, interfere with school education and social public education. It will absolutely not permit forcing of adolescents and children under 18 to become members of a religious group, to become monks or nuns, and to study religion in the temple. It will absolutely not permit reviving the abolished religious feudal system of suppression and exploitation, and will absolutely not permit using religion to oppose the party, oppose socialism and undermine the unity among nationalities and unity of the country.

An extremely important prerequisite to implementing the party's policy on religion is to win over, unite with and educate the people in the religious circle, the first of whom are personnel who are holding various types of religious professions. This also is an important part of the party's religious work. We must understand that, among the personnel who are holding religious professions in our country at present, most of them are patriotic and law abiding and support the socialist system. Only a small number of them are counterrevolutionaries and bad elements who oppose the Constitution, oppose socialism and maintain illicit relations with foreign countries. Many of the personnel who are holding religious professions not only have a close relationship spiritually with the masses of believers and have an important influence on the masses' spiritual life which we should not overlook, while performing their religious duties, they are also carrying out many laboring tasks of a service nature and public welfare tasks, for instance, preserving temples, churches and religious relics, carrying out farming, forestry and forest preservation, and carrying out religious academic studies and so forth. Thus, all the people in the religious circle, the first of whom being the personnel who are holding various religious professions, should have the concern and attention from the party and government as well as the people in society. We should unite with them, help them make progress, perseveringly and patiently conduct education toward them on patriotism and on abiding by the law, on supporting socialism and supporting the unification of the motherland and the unity among nationalities. We should make proper arrangements regarding their livelihood and conscientiously implement concerned policies to thoroughly redress any unjust, false and wrong cases among them. Many personnel in the religious circle have definite skills. We should organize them in light of their different situations and their capacity to take part in productive labor, social services, religious academic studies, as well as patriotic social and political activities and international friendly intercourse, so as to mobilize their activism in serving the socialist modernization.

An important material factor in implementing the party's policy on religion and normalize religious activities is the appropriate arrangement of places for religious activities. Without a place of activities, it is impossible for religion to carry out normal activities. Religious bodies and religious activities are a part of the entire society. To maintain social order and enable social production and work to be carried out normally, we must manage religion in an organized and planned manner. The normal religious activities which the masses of religious believers carry out in the religious places should be protected. No one should carry out propaganda on atheism at the religious places, or instigate debates among the masses of believers on whether or not there is God. On the other hand, any religious organization and religious members should not conduct, outside of the places of religious activities, preaching, propaganda or theism, or distribution of religious pamphlets, and publication of religious books and magazines that have not been approved of by the concerned government department. If we do not have definite organizational leadership and policy limits, and if we let believers and nonbelievers, theists and atheists go about their affairs without division of grounds, then contradictions and conflicts are bound to take place, which will harm social stability, harm the unity between the broad masses of believers and nonbelievers and harm the unity among the various nationalities.

At present, at some historically known sacred places of religious activities and places where religious followers live, in particular in certain areas inhabited by minority nationalities, it is necessary to revive some temples and churches in a planned manner and step by step. In the process of reviving places of religious activities, besides what is approved and allocated by the government, it is inappropriate to use the property of the state and the collective to repair and build temples and churches. In particular, in the countryside, we must pay attention to preventing and prohibiting going in for large-scale construction and excessive repair of temples.

Our country is one that enjoys a very rich background of cultural relics and that has many famous mountains and scenic spots. We must organically combine the implementation of the party's policy on religion with the protection of famous mountains and scenic spots. Among the famous mountains and scenic spots, the important temples and churches are not only places of religious activities but are of significant value as historical relics. Thus we should carefully preserve them, make sure that the relics are kept properly, the buildings are appropriately repaired and the environment is protected. Doing this job well not only is a demand for the implementation of the party's policy, but is an important topic in the building of a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

In implementing the policy of freedom of religious belief, we must strictly identify and maintain sharp vigilance against individual evildoers who are carrying out illegal and criminal activities and counterrevolutionary sabotage activities under the cloak of religion. In our country the difference in ideological belief between the masses of believers and the masses of nonbelievers is a relatively secondary issue. Politically and economically, their fundamental interests are the same. Illegal and criminal activities and counterrevolutionary activities will fundamentally harm the interests of the broad masses of believers and nonbelievers. We must mete out severe punishment according to the law to these illegal and criminal elements and counterrevolutionary elements. This has absolutely nothing to do with freedom of religious belief. Any religious body should maintain sharp vigilance against illegal and criminal elements and counterrevolutionary elements in using their religion to engage deals that harm the interests of the state and people's life and property.

Any religious body that allows the existence of illegal and criminal activities is bound to ruin its own reputation. Thus, all the religious bodies should join the party and government in resolutely attacking and thoroughly eradicating the counterrevolutionary elements and bad elements that have infiltrated into their religious bodies. We must recognize that attacking illegal and criminal activities and eradicating individual evildoers and counterrevolutionary elements definitely do not mean attacking but rather mean protecting normal religious activities.

The party's implementation of the policy of freedom of religious belief is meant for our country's citizens and is not applicable to communist party members. Every communist party member, without a doubt, should be an

athiest and not a theist. As for some comrades who are unable to completely shake off the influence of religion, we must carry out patient and meticulous ideological work in order to help them gradually establish a world view of dialectic materialism and historical materialism and gradually shake loose the shackles of religious thinking. We must not simply forsake them.

In the course of implementing the policy of freedom of religious belief, we must correctly differentiate between the religious issue and the nationalities issue and handle them accordingly. Some people confuse nationalities with religion, saying "the Hui nationality is Islamic," "Islamism means the Hui nationality." This is totally wrong. Religion is an ideology and nationality is a people's community that embraces four characteristics. Religion does not have an absolute link with nationality. A religion can be followed by people of many nationalities. For instance, there are 10 nationalities in our country who believe in Islamism, but we cannot say that these 10 nationalities are therefore 1 nationality. The people of one nationality also can follow several different religions. Among them, there are also some people who may not believe in any religion. For instance, among the Han nationality, some people believe in Christianity and Catholicism, some people believe in Taoism and Buddhism, and some people are not religious. But we cannot say that they are different nationalities. Furthermore, religious beliefs may change and change of religious belief does not change the nationality component. For instance, the Uygur nationality followed Manichaeism, Ao Jiao [5984 2403], Buddhism and Nestorianism before it followed Islamism. The Mongolian nationality followed Shamanism before it followed Lamaism. If we confuse nationalities with religion, we not only have made a mistake in our understanding, but will make the issue more complex, which will be unfavorable to the party's religious work and work toward nationalities.

We also should not confuse religious belief with customs and habits. The party and government treat the customs and habits of various nationalities the same way they treat religious belief, with the policy of respect and protection. Our country's citizens have freedom of religious belief. The various nationalities also have the freedom to preserve and reform their customs and habits. In terms of the spirit of the policy, there is no difference in essence between the two. However, we should not regard customs and habits as religious beliefs. Without a doubt, some nationalities have certain customs and habits, such as the birth and formation of food abstention, festive activities and marriage and funeral rites that are definitely related to religious and feudal superstition. Some are originally religious disciplines. For instance, the nationalities who believe in Islamism do not eat pork and the blood of animals, and do not eat animals that die on their own. Some festivals are also religious disciplines. However, as time goes by, the original meanings are lost and they become customs and habits of the masses. Under the circumstance we cannot look at them as either an issue of religious belief or feudal superstition. The differentiation of the two will have an important meaning toward the communist party members and the masses of nonbelievers among these nationalities. It is inappropriate to confuse the customs and habits of a nationality with religious activities without being analytical about them,

and is unfavorable to the unity among nationalities and to the correct handling of the religious issue.

FOOTNOTES

1. "SELECTED WORKS OF MAO ZEDONG," single-volume horizontal-typeset version, p 1041.
2. "SELECTED WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS," Vol 4, p 250.
3. "COLLECTED WORKS OF LENIN," Vol 10, p 62
4. "SELECTED WORKS OF LENIN," Vol 2, p 274
5. "COLLECTED WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS," Vol 22, p 360
6. "COLLECTED WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS," Vol 23, pp 96-97
7. "SELECTED WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS," Vol 3, p 356
8. "COLLECTED WORKS OF LENIN," Vol 10, p 65

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CSO: 4005/618

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

ACTIVE ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN FOUR MODERNIZATIONS PROMOTED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jan 83 p 1

[Editorial: "To Value Intellectuals Is to Value the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] In the beginning of the New Year, the Municipal CPC Committee convened a conference on intellectual work. The topics of discussion were the implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the understanding of the position and the role of intellectuals in the Four Modernizations. The conference further discussed how to improve and strengthen the party's leadership with regard to the work of intellectuals, how to put one step further into effect the party's policies with regard to intellectuals, how to mobilize the broad mass of intellectuals to positively participate in and contribute their knowledge and talent to the Four Modernizations, and how to create new conditions for the work of intellectuals in our city. This meeting was a great success--a united meeting, a rousing meeting, a meeting united in the purpose of working toward the Four Modernizations.

The strategic goal for our nation's economic construction laid down at the 12th Party Congress is to strive for quadrupling the total output value of the entire nation's industry and agriculture by the end of the century, under the prerequisite of ceaselessly upgrading economic benefits. Tianjin is one of our nation's most important industrial bases. We should bravely shoulder the heavy load, and make more contributions to realize this great goal. In a city such as ours, the issue in industrial and agricultural production is to put more importance on quality than on quantity. The task is obviously tremendous. What can we rely on to achieve this strenuous task? Build new factories? Add personnel? Put together facilities? More expenditures? This is fundamentally impossible. Take energy resources for example. At present the city's industrial production requires about 8 million tons of standard coal. If the value of production quadruples and if fuel use responds in like manner, then more than 40 million tons will be needed. Never mind the fact that the nation could not supply such an amount of fuel; even if it could, there would be no way to transport it in. Therefore, it is necessary to achieve a quadrupling of the value of production with [only] a two-fold increase in energy. How can this be done? There is only one way out: by relying on advances in science and technology. There is no lack of precedents. Japan presently consumes about the same amount of energy resources as our country, but the value of its production is three or four

times as much, owing to the advanced state of its science and technology and its energy conservation. Energy conservation and the full development of energy efficiency can only be sustained by advances in science and technology. And in order to realize advances in science and technology, there must be a strong work force of intellectuals. The significance of this is that to protect intellectuals is to protect productivity. To place value on intellectuals is to place value on the Four Modernizations; it is also to place value on the basic welfare of Tianjin's 7 million people.

Our city has over 100,000 intellectuals in the field of natural and social sciences. Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Congress, the understanding of the leadership at all levels with regard to the role of intellectuals has grown gradually deeper, and a great deal of work on implementing the party's policies with regard to intellectuals has been done, greatly improving relations between the party and intellectuals. The positive nature of intellectuals in general who had been oppressed for a number of years has begun to be better realized, contributing greatly to socialism with regard to material civilization and spiritual civilization.

However, this is merely the beginning. At present there still exists the residual poison and influence of the "left" ideology regarding the treatment of intellectuals. There is still a great deal of work to be done in carrying out the policy on intellectuals and in fully manifesting their roles. For example, with regard to understanding the role of intellectuals, some mistaken ideas still exist in the minds of some people.

"Things will get done without intellectuals." This is a muddled idea. The question is "Do what?" Merely striving for output value, and concentrating on equipment and the same products for 30 years is a thing of the past. What is to be done today is the Four Modernizations. We have to upgrade industrial and agricultural production standards and achieve by the turn of the century levels equal to those of the advanced countries in the 1980's and 1990's. In this we must rely on science and technology to arm our industry, our agriculture, our national defense, our national economy, and the minds of the multitudes of people. All this cannot be done without the tremendous role of the intellectuals. One result from research, one suggestion by those in science and technology may not only increase labor productivity several times or several tens of times but also open new avenues for a product or an enterprise. The situation is even more persuasive with regard to inventions. Tianjin University Professor Shi Shaoxi [0670 4801 3556] and his associates successfully researched a composite combustion system for diesel engines, changing the traditional combustion method so that the hourly consumption of energy went from 210 grams per horsepower to 167, upgrading efficiency by 30 percent. Since this invention was popularized in 1968, some 100,000 tons of diesel fuel and 40 million yuan per year have been conserved. Facts tell us that without knowledge and without intellectuals there can be no Four Modernizations, nor can the magnificent goal of realizing a quadrupling be reached.

"Intellectuals are being praised too much." This is another muddled notion. In the old society, workers, peasants and the great majority of intellectuals

together suffered the oppression of the three great mountains. After liberation, they all became the masters of the new society. Our party greatly valued intellectuals. But owing to the interference of the "left" line, especially that of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, intellectuals were viewed as bourgeois. They were discriminated against, attacked, and oppressed. This created a great confusion in people's minds. Today, to emphasize the position and role of intellectuals is to rectify that confusion and to clearly discern that intellectuals are those who labor with their minds and who are part of the working class. This is nothing more than to restore them to their original position. Thus, there is no question of raising anybody up or putting anybody down. In fact, upgrading the position of intellectuals and giving full play to their role is to fortify the strength of the working class. Our party has repeatedly stressed that workers, peasants, and intellectuals are the strengths to be relied upon in building socialism. Workers, peasants, and intellectuals, should take heed that only when these three branches have mutual trust and support, cooperate closely, and struggle together can they win battles, conquer fortresses, and shoulder the great mission of history to realize the magnificent objective of struggle.

Our country is now in a new historical period. We should clearly recognize that, like the workers and peasants, intellectuals are masters of our nation. We should make a change in our ideology and policy. Instead of treating intellectuals as "objects of reform," we should make them a strength to be relied upon; instead of solidarizing, educating and reforming them, we should treat them as equals in politics, make full use of them in work and conscientiously take care of their livelihood. In this change we must rely on the efforts of the entire party to conscientiously strengthen and improve party work among intellectuals. In order to take a leading role in opening up a new situation for the work of intellectuals in our city, cadres at all levels of leadership, and in organization and personnel sections should take the lead in eliminating the "left" influence, smashing conservative ideas, overcoming thoughts of seeking perfection and of blaming others. They should widen their purview to bring in talented people, and boldly promote a large group of young intellectuals with professional and moral integrity and leadership potential into the ranks of various levels of leadership. In order to strengthen work in this area, we must also promote a large group of cadres who are strong in party spirit, correct in behavior, knowledgeable in science and technology and are acquainted with intellectuals to work in organizations and in personnel departments. With regard to intellectuals already entered into the ranks of the leadership, we should fully trust them and give them a free hand in work so that they will have authority and responsibilities. "If you employ people, trust them; if you distrust people, don't employ them." If there is no minimum level of trust in intellectuals, if we cannot show concern for them and treat them with sincerity, how can we expect them to carry out the Four Modernizations willingly and wholeheartedly?

In order to create a new situation for the work of intellectuals, we must establish guiding principles for the work of intellectuals with regard to economic construction, cultural construction, advances in science and technology, and development of society, so that the broad mass of intellectuals

can bring their talents into full play and contribute to the great task of modernization. Of all the requirements of intellectuals, the most fundamental and substantial one is to make use of their knowledge and talent for realizing the Four Modernizations. The leadership at all levels should create conditions in many areas for them to put their role into play. They must liberate their thoughts, bravely reform, and unceasingly seek new avenues. For example, how can we organize and employ the intellectuals so as to bring out their special strengths? Currently there still exists the very serious phenomenon in which intellectuals are not applying what they have learned or putting their skills to use. Measures should be taken to solve this problem. For another example, how can we create conditions for the intellectuals to engage in professional, advanced learning so that they can renew and upgrade their specialized knowledge without interruption? This is a pressing need of the broad mass of intellectuals. We have to bring their role into full play and strive to improve their work and living conditions. This is especially the case for middle-aged intellectuals, who are the core strength in various areas of production, scientific research, culture, education, party and government, and who bear responsibility for numerous tasks on several fronts. However, there are many whose work conditions are inadequate, whose difficulties in daily life are considerable and whose fears and apprehension are numerous. For these we must show even greater care and concern. The party central committee, in considering the overall strategic situation in bringing about the Four Modernizations, has decided that the key to solving the practical problems of middle-aged intellectuals is no ordinary implementation of policy but a "basic construction" of modernization --in fact, the most fundamental of "basic constructions."

Workers, peasants, Communist Party members and cadres in general throughout the city must whip up public opinion to value knowledge and intellectuals and establish a new ethic and new habit of respect for knowledge, for science, and for intellectuals. Here lies the benefit for more than 7 million people of the Tianjin Municipality and the hope for the building of a new Tianjin.

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CSO: 4005/489

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPROVED RELATIONS, STRENGTHENED UNITY AMONG NATIONALITIES URGED

Beijing ZHONGYANG MINZU XUEYUAN XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF CENTRAL NATIONALITIES COLLEGE] in Chinese No 3, 82, 15 Aug 82 pp 3-8

[Article by Zhao Yingdong [6392 2503 2639] and Liu Shaochuan [0491 4801 1557]: "Improve the Relations Among the Nationalities and Strengthen the Unity of the Nationalities--Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People'"]

[Text] This year is the 25th anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (referred to below as the "Correct Handling"). In "Correct Handling," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantee of the sure triumph of our cause." He further said it is necessary "to unite the people of all nationalities in our country for a new battle, the battle against nature, to develop our economy and culture, to help the whole nation to traverse this period of transition fairly smoothly, to consolidate our new system and build up our new state." This is the scientific summation made by Comrade Mao Zedong of our country's revolution and the experiences in socialist construction. This also clarified that orientation for us in the new historical period in improving the relationship among the nationalities, strengthening the unity of the nationalities and smoothly launching the socialist modernization.

The issue of strengthening the unity of the nationalities is a strategic one. Without the unity of the nationalities, we will not be able to launch our socialist modernization and the minority nationality areas will not be able to break away from the conditions of poverty and backwardness. Thus, the "Party's Decision Concerning the Various Historical Problems Since the Founding of the Nation" at the 6th Plenary Session of the CPC 11th Central Committee pointed out: "Improving and developing the relationship among the socialist nationalities and strengthening the unity of the nationalities embrace significant meaning toward this multinationality country of ours."

Here, reviewing the relevant theses in "Correct Handling," we have come to the following realizations:

I. Correctly Understand and Handle the Two Different Types of Contradictions in the Relationship Among the Nationalities and Prevent and Overcome the "Leftist" or Rightist Mistakes

The most primary and fundamental principle put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong in "Correct Handling" is to differentiate correctly between the two different types of contradictions in the socialist period in our country and employ different methods to solve the contradictions. With regard to the relationship among the nationalities, we must also strictly differentiate between the two different types of contradictions and correctly handle them.

At the present stage of the socialist construction in our country, what are the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy in terms of the relationship among the nationalities? We feel that they are contradictions that resulted from the criminal activities of opposing the "four basic principles" under the signboard of nationalities, or utilization of mistakes in the work directed toward nationalities to instigate publicly a split among them, undermine the unity of the nationalities and the unification of our country, or the launching of aggressive and subversive activities through secret collusion with enemies abroad. Or, they are contradictions that resulted from the dissension sown among the various nationalities and the infliction of injury on the minority nationality cadres and masses by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." What are the contradictions among the people in terms of the relationship among the nationalities? We feel that they are contradictions among the nationalities that are brought about by the inequalities in reality that are left over from history and the mistakes that are made in practical work in the course of participating actively in the socialist modernization and on the basis of persevering in the unity of the nationalities and the unification of our country. We must employ different methods to solve the two different types of contradictions among the nationalities, that is, we must employ coercive measures of dictatorship to solve the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy in the relationship among the nationalities; and employ the democratic method of persuasion and education, the method of "unity--criticism--unity" to solve the contradictions among the people with regard to the relationship among the nationalities.

However, the two different types of contradictions with regard to the relationship among the nationalities, like other social contradictions, sometimes are easily confused with each other. In particular, because the issue of nationalities is relatively more complex and very particular in nature, confusion is more likely to happen. Thus, in differentiating between the two different types of contradictions with regard to the relationship among the nationalities, we must pay more attention to carrying out all round and penetrating investigation and study and handle the matter discreetly.

Even though the contradictions with regard to the relationship among the nationalities are relatively more complex, we must have a basic estimate on the actual condition of the relationship among the nationalities in our country at the present stage. Because the class struggle internationally is very complex and sometimes very acute, and because at home, the class struggle still exists within a definite realm, the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy will also naturally appear with regard to the relationship among the nationalities. Nevertheless, it is not the major contradictions with regard to the relationship among the nationalities in our country. The relationship among the nationalities in our country at the present stage is basically a relationship among the laboring people of the various nationalities. That is to say, on the basis of the uniformity of fundamental interests, a new socialist relationship among the nationalities of equality, unity and mutual assistance has been formed. For a variety of reasons, contradictions may still take place among the people of the various nationalities, but most of them are expressed in the form of contradictions among the people. Thus, we must adopt various forms to conscientiously and repeatedly seek to reeducate the cadres and masses of the various nationalities, including the Han nationality, throughout the country, in the Marxist viewpoint regarding nationalities and the party's policy toward the nationalities. In particular, we must place emphasis on educating the leading cadres at various levels. This is the key to handling correctly the two different types of contradictions with regard to the relationship among the nationalities, continuously improving and developing the socialist relationship among the nationalities and doing a good job of promoting unity among the nationalities.

In summing up our country's experience on the problem of the elimination of counterrevolutionaries, Comrade Mao Zedong correctly appraised our achievements in the struggle to eliminate counterrevolutionaries, criticized our "leftist" mistake of magnifying the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, criticized our mistake of regarding our enemy as our friend, and proposed the correct measures in correcting our mistakes. This also has an important guiding significance in enabling us to prevent and overcome the "leftist" and rightist mistakes with regard to the relationship among the nationalities.

The rightist mistake with regard to the relationship among the nationalities is to consider only the boundaries between nationalities and not the "four basic principles," to wave toward enemies at home and abroad the banners of "equality" and "sovereignty" among the nationalities while in reality sowing dissension, undermining and engaging in splits among the nationalities, create disputes among them, stir up trouble and relax our vigilance. The "leftist" mistake with regard to the relationship among the nationalities is to treat what should have been a contradiction among the people as a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. For instance, looking at the problem of local nationalism as a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy, making wrong classification in carrying out "make up lessons missed in the reform of the nationalities," and treating the masses of minority nationalities who were forced to leave their places

as "traitors" are all "leftist" mistakes. These mistakes can harm the unity among the nationalities and the unification of the motherland. In the 10 years of internal disorder, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique made use of our "leftist" mistakes, theoretically equated the nationalities issue with the class issue, waged vehemently a life-and-death class struggle, created many unjust, false and wrong cases, and seriously undermined the unity and friendly relations that had already been established among the various nationalities. This is a grave lesson that we should always remember.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," in particular since the Third Plenary Session, the party Central Committee has paid special attention to the nationalities issue and the work regarding the nationalities, and decided upon a series of major principles and policies, thereby reviving and developing the party's practical and effective policy toward the nationalities, bringing about obvious improvement in the relationship among the nationalities and increasingly consolidating the unity among the nationalities. However, we must soberly recognize that there still exist many problems in regard to the relationship among the nationalities and there even lurk definite dangers in certain respects and in some places. We must not lower our guard but must maintain proper vigilance. For one reason or another, sometimes the relationship among some local nationalities is abnormal. Practice proves that, with the exception of sabotage by the enemy, this oftentimes is brought about by the serious shortcomings and mistakes in our work. If contradictions arise and things go wrong because we have not done our job well, then we should conscientiously find out the sources without delay and resolutely overcome the bureaucratism in leadership. These are special measures to improve the work toward the nationalities. At the same time, we must lead without delay the cadres and masses of the various nationalities to study the party's policy toward the nationalities, overcome Han chauvinism and local nationalism, transform bad into good and strengthen the great unity among the people of the various nationalities.

II. Correctly Treat the Two Types of Nationalism

Both Han chauvinism and local nationalism are unfavorable to the unity among the various nationalities. If we allow the two to develop as they wish, we will bring about opposition and even a split among our various nationalities. Thus, we must overcome both at the same time. But the key is overcoming Han chauvinism. Only this will be favorable for overcoming and preventing local nationalism. As to which ideology is the major one at a specific point in time and place, we must proceed from reality and carry out concrete analyses accordingly. The minority nationality that occupies the major position in a given area must also pay attention to overcoming and preventing big-nationality chauvinism in its relationship with other minority nationalities. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We stress opposition against big Han chauvinism. We must also oppose local nationalism, but generally speaking that is not our emphasis." ("On the Ten Major Relationships") That is to say, we must

not oppose a certain kind of nationalism in a onesided and isolated manner and ignore or cover up another kind of nationalism. We also must not put one kind of nationalism on a par with the other. We must, all the more, not regard what is not a key aspect as a key aspect. We have obtained experiences as well as lessons on this issue in the past. We must further sum up our experiences and lessons so as to be able to give prominence to what is correct and avoid committing past mistakes again.

Comrade Mao Zedong clearly told us that both Han chauvinism and local nationalism are contradictions among the people. To oppose these two erroneous ideas, we must use only the democratic method and the method of persuasion and education to solve the problems. We must proceed from the hope for unity among the nationalities, carry out criticism and struggle and attain further unity among the various nationalities in our country on the new basis. However, in the past, in treating local nationalism and in treating comrades who made mistakes of local nationalism, we once violated the teaching of Comrade Mao Zedong, erroneously regarded "local nationalist elements" as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and criticized, struggled against and handled them in that manner. Toward the minority nationality cadres who made reasonable suggestions in light of reality, and who reflected the proper demands of their nationalities and the masses in their localities; we also criticized them as local nationalism. The evil results of confusing these two types of contradictions are serious and profound. We must take warning from them.

We must pay attention to the existence of the two kinds of nationalism and yet must pay attention to their partial character. To completely negate the existence of the two kinds of nationalism or to exaggerate a partial problem as a universal problem; both are not in accordance with reality and are harmful. It is wrong to regard only the errors of those systems of organization (such as the financial system of organization and the economic management system of organization) that wait to be improved upon and perfected, or to regard concrete problems in work as problems of inequality among the nationalities, or to exaggerate certain contradictions that take place among the individual members of different nationalities as "contradictions among the nationalities" and "nationalism."

Overcoming the two kinds of nationalism is a long-term task on the ideological front. This is determined by objective conditions. We must see that since the founding of the new China, with the elimination of rule by an exploiting class and the abolition of the system of nationality suppression, the relationship among the nationalities in our country has undergone fundamental changes and a new form of relationship among the nationalities one of equality, unity and mutual cooperation has been established. However, because we have not totally wiped out the old ideologies that have existed over a long period of history as a result of nationality suppression, such as prejudices, discrimination and suspicion among the nationalities that are unfavorable to the unity of the nationalities; in particular, the inequality in reality among the various nationalities which history has handed down cannot be totally solved easily in a short period of time. Also, because of the differences in hope

and demand and conditions among the various nationalities in the process of developing prosperity, the old thinking that is unfavorable to the unity among the nationalities will still exist under the new situation. At certain points in time and in some areas, and with regard to certain issues, there will still be contradictions among the nationalities, creating tension in their relationship. That is to say, thoroughly to overcome Han chauvinism and local nationalism which are unfavorable to the unity among the nationalities, it is necessary to do well the practical work in many aspects as well as conduct meticulous ideological education over a long period of time. In the course of solving the contradictions among the nationalities under the new situation, the cadres and masses of the various nationalities must adhere to the party's policy toward nationalities, conduct proper self-criticisms on their own and continue to overcome all old ideas and old viewpoints on their own part that are unfavorable to letting the various nationalities join in the building of a socialist motherland. Any one-sided accusation by the people of one nationality against the people of another or any criticism that is exaggerated and any unprincipled attempt to cover up one's shortcomings are unfavorable to the unity among the various nationalities and the progress of every nationality.

III. Give Full Play to the Special Role of Minority Nationality Individuals in Improving the Relationship Among the Nationalities

In talking about the question of intellectuals, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We must trust those intellectuals who are truly willing to serve the socialist cause, fundamentally improve our relationship with them and assist them in solving the various problems that need to be solved so that they can actively bring their abilities into play." In the work of improving the relationship among the nationalities, the minority nationality intellectuals are able to develop their abilities to the fullest. Thus, we must not ignore the question of intellectuals.

After the liberation, under the nurture and education of the party and the state, group after group of intellectuals matured among the minority nationalities. On the one hand, these intellectuals are mostly trained in the institutions of higher learning in the hinterland. They all embrace a definite ideological level of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, embrace definite advanced scientific and cultural knowledge, have relatively broader contacts and have a relatively broader vision. On the other hand, a determination to safeguard unity of the nationalities and unification of our country and to struggle for the prosperity, wealth and power of the motherland; and have, on the other hand, a strong historical sense of responsibility of devoting themselves to the development of the prosperity of their own nationalities. Thus, if the leading party and government organs at various levels fully trust and assist the minority nationality intellectuals and actively enhance their roles, they will bring about a special significance in strengthening the party's work toward nationalities, in strengthening the allegiance among the various nationalities, in solving the contradictions with regard to the relationship

among the nationalities, in consolidating and developing the unity of the various nationalities and in promoting the four modernizations. With the development of the cause of socialist construction, the rank of minority nationality intellectuals will grow stronger day by day. Thus, it becomes more obviously important that we correctly treat this dependent force and give full play to its role.

Furthermore, we must also see that a good number of minority nationalities already had their own intellectuals before the liberation, and they were distributed throughout the educational, the scientific and technological, the cultural and the religious circles. There were not too many of them, but their influence was still very great. Over some 30 years since the liberation, under the education and assistance of the party and government, the majority of them have made obvious progress, fervently loved the motherland, supported the leadership of the CPC and willingly followed the socialist road. Thus, to continue to unite with and educate these intellectuals and give full play to their activism is indispensable in improving and developing the socialist relationship among the nationalities.

In the past, under the erroneous "leftist" influence, the broad masses of intellectuals in our country have been discriminated against, oppressed and attacked in varying degrees. This has seriously obstructed the cause of socialist construction and obstructed their enthusiasm in doing nationalities research work. In order to give full play to the positive role of the nationality intellectuals, we must persevere in the "double hundred" principle. Professionals, scholars and the broad masses of intellectuals among the various nationalities must, on the basis of persevering in the "six political criteria" and the "four basic principles," actively launch academic inquiry in areas such as the economy, culture, history and nationality theories among the nationalities, learn from each other, learn from other's strong points to offset their own weaknesses. They must offer plans and policies to the party and government leading organs, and push forward the development of the cause of socialist construction in the country and in the areas inhabited by the nationalities. Because there are few minority nationality intellectuals, and because these intellectuals are also in general qualitatively inferior, the party and government leading organs and the Han nationality intellectuals should pay special attention to helping them and respecting their research work in the various aspects such as the history and the present situation, the politics, economy, science and culture of their own nationalities. With regard to differences in viewpoint, and even incorrect viewpoints, which appears in the course of their inquiry, we must persevere in the attitude of persuasive reasoning and not simply coercion and must permit them to educate themselves. The reason why we emphasize this point is because we want to give fuller play to the special role of the minority nationality intellectuals as well as to enable the minority nationality intellectuals to mature through training. Of course, the minority nationality intellectuals should also continuously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, overcome narrowmindedness and fragility, so as to meet the needs of our country's social development and advance continuously in the direction of socialism and communism.

IV. Closely Integrate the State's Modernization With the Strengthening of the Unity Among the Nationalities

The realization of the socialist modernization is the common task, common interest and common bright future of the people of the various nationalities throughout the country, and is also the basis for the unity among the various nationalities. Likewise, the strengthening of the unity among the nationalities is the basic guarantee for the realization of the socialist modernization. We must organically integrate the two and let them promote each other. However, in view of our previous experiences and lessons, truly and correctly to integrate the two, we must take into consideration the interests in all aspects.

First, we must take into consideration the state's economic interests and the economic interests of the areas inhabited by the nationalities. In speaking about how to consolidate our country's rural socialist system, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the basic principle for correctly handling the economic relations between the state, the collective and the individual. This is the principle of taking the interests of the three into consideration. We feel that this principle not only is suitable for use in consolidating the socialist economic system in the areas inhabited by the various nationalities, but is also entirely suitable for use in regulating and improving the relationship among the nationalities in our country and strengthening the unity of the nationalities in the modernization.

After the liberation, under the leadership and assistance of the party and state, and under the mobilization and support of the Han nationality advanced areas, the areas inhabited by the various minority nationalities have successively established the socialist system. Politically, economically and culturally, great changes and development have taken place. However, there still exist many problems regarding the relationship among the nationalities, and there are still all kinds of contradictions. The reason why contradictions appear is oftentimes multifaceted. Fundamentally speaking, it is because the state economic system of organization and practical work have not taken into consideration both the economic interests of the state and those of the areas inhabited by the nationalities. We either emphasized the state's unified economic plan and neglected the sovereignty of the nationality autonomous regions in developing the economy; or we emphasized the partial interests of the areas inhabited by the nationalities and neglected the overall interests of the state.

How was the relationship between the state's economic interests and the economic interests of the areas inhabited by the nationalities reflected in the relationship among the nationalities, in particular in the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities? When the Han nationality cadres who shoulder leadership responsibilities and the Han nationality staff members and workers who work in the state-run enterprises in areas inhabited by minority nationalities, or in certain departments of the state fail in policy or in actual work to integrate directly the cause of construction in areas inhabited by the nationalities

with the personal interests of those minority nationalities, and sometimes even seriously harm the interests of the areas inhabited by these nationalities; and when the minority nationalities, whose personal interests have been harmed, give rise to one-sided or certain extreme acts from a cognitive standpoint, then the contradiction between the interests of the state and the interests of the areas inhabited by the nationalities becomes a contradiction between the foreign Han nationality cadres and staff members and the cadres and masses of the local minority nationalities. Such a contradiction can only be solved by persevering in the policy of taking into consideration both the interests of the state and the interests of the areas inhabited by the minority nationalities, which means that we must integrate the state plan for modernization and interest with the development toward prosperity in the areas inhabited by the nationalities. We must persevere in the demand for coordinating all the activities of the nation like pieces in a chess game, and must also give favorable attention to the superiority of the areas inhabited by the nationalities and the continuous raising of the living standard for the people of the minority nationalities. The Han nationality leading cadres who are working in the state-run farms, forest grounds, livestock grazing grounds, industrial and mining enterprises, as well as communications and transportation and financial and trade departments, and the Han nationality cadres who are working in the party and government leading organs, but must also respect the equality and sovereignty of the minority nationalities. They must be responsible for the personal interests of the people of the local nationalities, and truly guarantee that actual benefits will accrue to the minority nationalities in the construction cause that involves the state's opening up of their localities. For instance, in the state-run enterprises that are established in the areas inhabited by the nationalities, with the exception of a small number of technicians, we must first hire the necessary staff members and workers from among the minority nationalities. This will favor the strengthening of the rank of minority nationality working class. Also, the localities should retain a reasonable portion of interests from the enterprise's profits, taxes and products. These enterprises should try their best to protect the balance in the environment, conscientiously treat the "three wastes" and avoid bringing serious harm upon the people of the various nationalities. At the same time, we must turn the construction of these modernized enterprises into bases for modernization in the areas inhabited by the nationalities, and mobilize the modernization in the economy, culture, education, science and technology and health and sanitation in those localities. Furthermore, we must educate the broad masses of the Han nationality staff members and workers conscientiously to implement the party's policy toward the nationalities, respect the equality and rights and customs and habits of the minority nationalities, and take the initiative to concern themselves about, take care of and protect the interests of the people of the local nationalities. The minority nationality cadres and masses must also embrace a feeling for the overall situation. The areas inhabited by the minority nationalities are large in space and have rich material resources. It is in total accord with the basic interests of the people of the various nationalities throughout the country for the state to tap these resources in developing the four modernizations. Thus, the people of the minority nationalities

should consciously obey the state's unified economic plans and persevere in the positive attitude of uniting with and cooperating with the Han nationality cadres and staff members and workers. Only in this way can we favor the unity among the various nationalities and the unification of the country.

Secondly, we must take into consideration the interests of the various nationalities. In order fully to mobilize all positive factors among the various nationalities to serve the building of a powerful modern socialist country, while considering all problems, we must proceed from taking into consideration the interests of the various nationalities. On the one hand, we must stipulate and guarantee the necessary and likely care toward the Han nationality cadres and staff members and workers who are supporting the border areas inhabited by the nationalities. On the other hand, we must also stipulate and guarantee the necessary and likely care toward the minority nationality cadres and staff members and workers who are studying and working in the hinterland areas inhabited by the Han nationality. On the one hand, we must take care of the needs of the residents in the areas and cities inhabited by the Han nationality with the resources from the areas inhabited by the nationalities. On the other hand, we must also take care of the needs in the production and livelihood of the areas inhabited by the minority nationalities with the commodities from the areas inhabited by the Han nationality. On the one hand, we must emphasize taking care of the speedy development of the relatively more backward nationalities, and on the other hand, we must also guarantee the general steady development of the other nationalities. Through our positive and negative experiences over a long period of time, we realized that whether or not we could take into consideration the economic interests of the various nationalities was a major issue as to whether or not we could do a good job in the relationship among the nationalities. Only by truly taking into consideration the economic interests of the various nationalities can we smoothly solve the other contradictions with regard to the relationship among the nationalists. Only thus can we fundamentally improve and develop our country's socialist relationship among the nationalities and can we strengthen the great unity among the various nationalities at home. The one-sidedness in the interests of the nationalities is unfavorable to the unity among the nationalists and must be overcome.

Thirdly, it is necessary to unify the development toward prosperity of the minority nationalities with the "four modernizations" of the motherland. The development toward prosperity of the various nationalities is the basic stand of our party's policy toward the nationalities, is the component part of the socialist modernization of the motherland and is the solid basis for improving the relationship among the nationalities and strengthening the unity of the nationalities. In sum, the economy and culture of the minority nationalities are more backward than those of the Han nationality and inequality among the various nationalities still exists to a very serious degree in reality. Fundamentally speaking, this is precisely the source of conflict among the nationalities. Thus, we must

sincerely and actively assist the minority nationalities in developing the economy and culture, strive to accelerate the modernization in the areas inhabited by the nationalities and continuously raise the material and cultural standards of living of the people of the minority nationalities.

Comrade Mao Zedong's consistent teaching is to proceed from reality and conscientiously study all advanced experiences, including advanced experiences from abroad. The economic construction and other construction projects in the areas inhabited by the minority nationalities in our country should also follow such a teaching. For this, we must, on the one hand, oppose the conservative thinking of following the beaten path and modestly study advanced experiences both at home and abroad. We must, on the other hand, prevent and overcome dogmatism and the leading method of "severing with one blow" which are divorced from reality. This implies that we must take into consideration the concrete characteristics of the history and present situation of the areas inhabited by the nationalities, take into consideration both the present interests and the long-term interests, formulate plans for the opening up of the areas inhabited by the nationalities as well as measures for carrying out the plans, and, through practice consolidate and perfect these plans step by step. We must proceed from the present level of productivity of the areas inhabited by the nationalities, overcome the "leftist" influence, loosen our economic policy, regulate and improve the socialist relationship in production, and select the economic form that is most favorable to mobilizing the enthusiasm in socialist production of the broad masses of the laboring people. We must proceed from the characteristics of the natural resources, the present economic factors and the people's livelihood in the areas inhabited by the nationalities and give full play to the economic superiority of those areas so as to promote the development of the national economy and satisfy the needs of the people's livelihood.

In developing the economy of the areas inhabited by the nationalities, we must also implement the principle of integrating assistance from the state with self-reliance. The state should vigorously support the areas inhabited by the minority nationalities in respect to financial power, material power and manpower. We have done this since the liberation. We should continue to do so in the future and must do this job even better. However, the various areas inhabited by the minority nationalities should also be self-reliant, struggle arduously, pay attention to generating, accumulating and using funds, conscientiously implement the policy of practicing strict economy, strive to tap potentials, reasonably utilize the various funds from the state to the areas inhabited by the nationalities, spend less money in getting more work done, raise economic results, swiftly change the outlook of poverty in the areas inhabited by the minority nationalities and make greater contributions to the state construction. Furthermore, we should abide by the Central Committee's directive, permit the various nationality autonomous districts to adopt concrete policies

that are suitable to their own economic terms and nationality characteristics. Practice proves that if we give the nationality autonomous districts and sovereignty to regulate and reform certain financial and economic systems of organization and decide upon certain financial and economic policies in light of their reality, we can promote their active role in the economic development in those districts. In the future, we must continue to do a good job in the reform of the systems of organization in the areas inhabited by the nationalities, but we must carry out the task in accordance with the policy and measures of the party and state.

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CSO: 4005/619

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURE

SEPARATION OF COUPLES, INTELLECTUAL POLICY, FACULTY HOUSING DISCUSSED

Couples Living Separately

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jan 83 p 3

[Commentary: "On Couples Living Separately"]

[Text] Wang Ju's [3769 3558] article entitled "Couples Living Separately Is a Social Problem Worthy of Serious Attention" which was published in QINGHAI SOCIAL SCIENCES, No 5, 1982, considers that couples are the main body of the family and the family is the cell of society. The setting up of households not only fulfills the lives of both sexes, the propagation of later generations and the multiplication of the race but also meets the needs of social life and produces various social functions. Husband and wife are the most intimate companions and are the closest to each other in human contact. Thus, they also depend on each other most heavily and have the deepest feelings for each other. However, when couples live separately, the gap between them is inappropriately widened. This obstructs their dependent relationship and emotional sustenance and causes an abnormal situation in a normal household. Although the normal relationship of a couple often is not easy to maintain when living separately, the controlling factors of society, aside from the distance of the separate living quarters, and other factors also come into play. For example, personal convictions, ethical and moral constraints, praise and blame from public opinion, and advantages or disadvantages in economic benefits are factors that often play a role in maintaining family ties, so that the household will not necessarily split when couples are living separately. However, in any case, couples living separately is not advantageous to maintaining household functions.

Policy on Intellectuals

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jan 83 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Action Weighs More Than Words"]

[Text] The reading of the "The Record of the Decision Reversal of the Wang Wu Company" causes deep thought and is beneficial to people. This news report vividly explained how important the position and action of intellectuals are in building socialism and the four modernizations.

The Party Central Committee always stresses that both revolution and construction cannot be done without intellectuals. The report of the CPC 12th Party Congress pointed out even more clearly that the key to the four modernizations is the modernization of science and technology. However, to realize the modernization of science and technology, we cannot move a single step without the intellectuals. Taking the Machine Tool Parts Factory of Shijiazhuang as an example, it further proves the absolute truth of the above thesis. This factory had already reached its rope's end and could not even pay wages. After the engineer Wu Baoxin [2976 1405 0207] was invited, within 2 years, five new products were made. Among these, only the double reverse flow cooler made a profit of 450,000 yuan and so this enterprise gained new vitality.

Livelihood is the most convincing textbook. At present, many comrades are gradually recognizing the position and function of intellectuals in building the four modernizations. Yet, there are some comrades who are still prejudiced against intellectuals. They consider that "at present, intellectuals are praised too highly", that "without intellectuals our factories will produce just as before," etc. The reason why these comrades have the above confused views is mainly due to their still not being liberated from the constraints of "leftist" thought and small production views. They have not completely broken away from the erroneous views long prevailing and existing in our party: looking down upon education, science and culture and discriminating against intellectuals. They still continue to use the slogans of "unite, educate and transform" brought forth when the PRC was first founded for the intellectuals in treating today's intellectuals. They always feel that the workers and peasants are the dependable strength and "the direct line of descent" while the intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie or even bourgeoisie are a dissident force which can be used but not trusted. This view is an error of the times. It should be seen that today's intellectuals were basically cultivated by our party under the socialist system. In other words, the intellectuals from the old society have already lived, worked and studied for several decades under the socialist system and the situation has undergone fundamental changes. Those intellectuals who politically have a deep love of their country, who are diligent and conscientious in their work and who have genuine ability in their professions are our "national treasures." We must make the vast number of cadres and the masses understand that without the intellectuals we cannot have the four modernizations and that without the intellectuals the realizing of the grand aim of quadrupling can only be empty talk.

Can it then be said that intellectuals do not have any shortcomings and do not require continuous transforming? Naturally, we cannot say this. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In the process of building a socialist society, everyone needs transformation." Dealing with the problem of the world view of intellectuals should be the same as dealing with the problem of the world view of workers and peasants that is to promote transforming one's subjective world and one's subjective capability in the process of transforming the objective world. There is no pure gold and there is no perfect man. Intellectuals are no exception. They can also have certain weaknesses and shortcomings. The problem is distinguishing the principal

stream from the secondary ones. As for their weaknesses and shortcomings, we must implement convincing education patiently, be practical and realistic in helping them to analyze their own strong and weak points. We should not often raise them to a higher level of principle and two-line struggle or use a political hat to oppress people. The Shijiazhuang Municipal Party Committee carried out objective analysis of Comrade Wu Baoxin, sought the truth from facts, looked at the principal aspects and strong points and resolutely resolved the problem so that the "Wang Wu Company" case was very quickly overturned. This is very valuable! The idea of "action weighs more than words in whether or not intellectuals should become their own group" is worthy of serious consideration by comrades from other localities.

In order to even better implement the party's policy towards intellectuals, we should broadly promote the friendship between leading cadres and intellectuals and be "bosom friends" of the intellectuals. In contacts with intellectuals, we can have consultations in work, seek advice from and make inquiries of them in science and technology and can also have direct criticism and heart-to-heart talks. In this way, we can listen attentively to their aspirations, understand their hardships and difficulties, and resolve their difficulties so that their intelligence, ability and wisdom can come into full play.

"When thunder shakes heaven and earth, dragons and snakes will hibernate; when rain fills the plains, grass and trees tend to soften." The Party's 12th Congress formulated correct guiding principles for comprehensively ushering in a new situation of socialist construction and the Fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress adopted fundamental laws to rule and safeguard the country. If only we follow the direction guided by the party and comprehensively implement intellectual policy and many other policies, we will certainly be able to make new contributions during the new year and increase the new splendor of our undertakings.

Poor Faculty Housing Conditions

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jan 83 p 1

[Article: "Acting Governor Liu Bingyan [0491 4426 1750] Visits Teacher's College to Learn Faculty Housing Situation"]

[Text] Recently, Acting Governor Liu Bingyan went to the campus of Hebei Teacher's College to visit teachers and students and learn the housing situation of middle-aged faculty. Comrade Liu Bingyan came to No 5 dormitory of the school. Most of those who live here are middle-aged intellectuals. When he walked into a narrow corridor and saw that both sides were piled with briquettes and cabbage and that there were stoves next to each door, he said, "Conditions are really very poor." Comrade Li Zemin [2621 3419 3046], president of the college said, "It is better in the winter but during the summer it is hot enough to choke one."

He heard that the conditions in building 9 were worse and so Comrade Liu Bingyan insisted on going to investigate. In the house of lecturer Zhu

Deming [2612 1795 2494] of the Marxism and Leninism Teaching and Research Office, he saw that Professor Zhu's simple living room was piled with books up to the ceiling and inquired of his class preparations and work situation. Comrade Liu Bingyan said, "At present, all of China's housing is relatively poor but comrades must believe that as industrial and agricultural production develop, people's livelihood will continuously be improved." Zhu Deming excitedly said, "I deeply thank the party's solicitude and certainly must work even more enthusiastically."

Comrade Liu Bingyan also visited the laboratories, the library, reading rooms, student dormitories and the dining hall of the college. He made broad contact with the masses, listened to opinions and learned the situation.

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CSO: 4005/486

RETRANSLATION OF LENIN ARTICLE SAID TO SIGNAL CHANGE IN LITERARY POLICY

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 65, Mar 83 pp 53-54

[Article by I Ting [0001 0002]: "Two RED FLAG Articles Shake Foundation of Mao Zedong's 'Talks' on Literature and Art"]

[Text] In the years 1961 to 1964, Shuang Shan completed the "Outline of Mao Zedong Thought," a monumental work criticizing Mao Zedong Thought. Chapter 10 of this work, "Literature and Art Policy and Literary and Art Creation," in the main pointed out that the starting point of Mao Zedong's literature and art policy did not correctly cite Lenin's "The Party's Organization and the Party's Literature," an article he wrote in November 1904 before he returned to Russia. I don't know what scholar, when translating this article, translated the common European word "literature," in the title and throughout the text. as the Chinese word "wenxue." Based on this translated text, Mao Zedong published his "Talks" ["Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art"]. Needless to say, Mao Zedong wasn't the only one to have this idea: long before, Stalin had deliberately misinterpreted Lenin's original meaning and used it as an instrument to control literature and art. Originally, the Chinese communists did not have a policy on literature and art. In 1936, after the end of the Long March when they were content to exercise sovereignty in Yanan, the writers gathered in Yanan organized the "China Literature and Art Society."

In a speech, Mao Zedong said: "The China Literature and Art Society must develop the literature and art of the worker and peasant masses in the soviets, and develop the resist-Japan literature and art of the national revolutionary war."

He simply put forward a general policy for literature and art, and did not make it a guiding ideology.

In 1937, after the July 7 Incident, there was an upsurge in the movement to resist Japan, and literary and art activities for resisting Japan were launched on a large scale in accompaniment with the military activity. But each of the literature and art departments did things in its own way, and there was no centralized, unified leadership. The main activities were carried out by varied theatrical troupes, in which Chinese and Western, new and old works were mixed together and existed side by side. Only works on resistance themes were presented on the stage.

In May 1941, JIEFANG RIBAO began publication, and Wang Ming-xi was put in charge of the erudite parts of this newspaper with Ding Ling editing the literature and art supplement. At that time, some writers (Shu Qun, Xiao Jun, Bai Lang, Luo Feng, and Ai Qing) opposed Zhou Yang and a debate occurred; several novels (among them "A Nail" and "Factory Director Chases the Pig Away") drew the outside world's attention, to the extent that some people were "seated according to the designated number indicated on the ticket," and on this basis textile factory workers were questioned to find out who had written articles.

However, what caused a mighty uproar were several essays--among them Ding Ling's "Feelings on International Working Women's Day" and Wang Shiwei's "The Lily," both of which satirized the budding bureaucratic privileges in Yanan. When, in 1957, Ding Ling was labeled a "rightist," one of the charges against her was the essay "Feelings on International Working Women's Day." Besides Zhou Yang, who at that time was the executioner holding the sword, Yao Wenyuan had already shown brand-new talent in brandishing the "golden cudgel."

According to Ding Ling, these two essays led directly to Mao Zedong's "Talks" at the Yanan forum on literature and art, which, combined with the rectification movement, became the shackles binding literary and art activity over half a century, and many people were blamed for wanting to free themselves from these fetters. Hu Feng was even hauled before a literary inquisition on the charge of being a "counterrevolutionary," and over 380 persons regarded as the "Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique," as well as their implicated family members, were still being rehabilitated one after another as late as 1982. For 30 years, they have died off or gotten older.

Main Points of the "Talks"

Mao Zedong's "Talks" raised the problem of "for whom are literature and art intended," saying that they are intended for the people, for the workers, peasants, and soldiers and for the petite bourgeoisie; he also raised the problem of how they should serve the people, saying that they should portray the bright side of things and not the dark side. He further said: "All culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to different political lines," and proletarian literature and art should, as Lenin said, be the "cogs and screws" of the revolutionary cause. The proletarian revolution is led by the party, and the party is led by a small number of statesmen. Therefore, writers should make clear the difference between the proletarian statesmen and the decadent bourgeois statesmen, and they cannot debase the proletarian statesmen. He said that literature and art need literary and art criticism, for which political criteria are first and artistic criteria are second. A work's motive must be geared to its social effect; otherwise, it is not a good work. From this he turned to defects in Yanan's literature and art. He opposed the "theory of human nature"; opposed "love" and "love of humanity"; opposed "laying equal stress in writing on the bright and dark sides"; opposed "exposure literature"; and opposed "Lu Xun's style of writing," because Lu Xun lived under a dark rule, but in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area and in the bases for resisting

Japan behind the enemy lines, the way of writing essays must truly keep to the stand of the people and what the writers say must be brimming with enthusiasm.

He directly asked: "Why should we not extol the people, the creator of the history of the human world? Why should we not extol the proletariat, the Communist Party, the New Democracy and socialism?" He went on: "Petty-bourgeois individualists are naturally unwilling to praise the meritorious deeds of the revolutionary masses or to heighten their courage in struggle and confidence in victory. Such people are the black sheep in the revolutionary ranks and the revolutionary masses have indeed no use for such 'singers.'"

For over 30 years, there have been continual literary inquisitions in China, not one of which did not take as its pattern the criteria put forward by the "Talks." Relying on these criteria, the Communist Party can, at any time, use the knife of literary and art criticism to get writers completely in its power, criticize them harshly, and drive them to commit suicide, die of illness, or have a nervous breakdown.

Over the past several years, although the Communist Party has still commemorated every year the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," it has had to slightly relax its policy of controlling literature and art and give a certain amount of freedom to writers, but it still continues to use Mao Zedong's "theory of social effect" to criticize writers, and has even banned the satirical works of Realism written by Ye Wenfu, Sha Yexin, and Bai Hua.

All of this, Mao Zedong did in the name of a bogus "The Party's Organization and The Party's Literature" of Lenin's, as if he were an orthodox Leninist, about which fact nobody dare dissent. Actually, his "Talks" strangled the vitality of China's literature and art, so that only works that sang his praises could exist.

Lenin's article was written in 1905, and not until November 1940 was it published in PRAVDA. By that time, Stalin's bureaucratic rule has been consolidated, and nobody appointed by him would dare to say "no" to how he wanted to interpret the article.

It was not fortuitous that Mao Zedong's "Talks" were published in May 1942.

After being content to exercise sovereignty over Yanan, the Communist Party had to recuperate and build up its strength, and Mao Zedong had to restudy "Marxism-Leninism"--this is what Chen Boda said in an article. Actually, what he restudied was just Stalinism.

He took the word "literature" in Lenin's article and without exception translated it as the Chinese word "wenxue," which was Stalin's revision of Leninism.

This word "literature" has many interpretations. It has the meanings of "documents," "papers," "publications," and "publishing," and not just of "literature." If one takes this word, which was used in Lenin's article in its wider meaning, and translates it throughout in its narrow meaning of "literature," then one will be unable to understand the original meaning. This is apparent on one reading of the article. But, for almost half a century, nobody dared to point out this contradiction. It was only Shuang Shan's incisive chapter in his criticism from abroad of Mao Zedong's entire thought that pointed out that Mao Zedong's viewpoints on literature and art were nothing more than Stalinism's distortion of Lenin's original meaning.

RED FLAG Retranslates Lenin's Original Text

RED FLAG magazine, the theoretical publication of the CPC Central Committee, in its 16 November 1982 issue published a retranslation of Lenin's article, entitling it "The Party's Organization and The Party's Publications," with an explanation of the retranslation written under the signature of the "Lenin and Stalin Compilation and Translation Office of the Compilation and Translation Bureau, CPC Central Committee."

That the explanatory article does not go so far as Shuang Shan's criticism can be seen by contrasting the two. Not only does it not touch on Mao Zedong's "Talks" in Yanan on literature and art, it does not even correct Mao Zedong's mistaken citations of Lenin's ideas. From the standpoint of protecting the "four upholds," this is understandable.

The changes in the translated text make a big difference. The word "literature" in the old translation is now changed to "publications" in 11 places and to "writings" and to "writing undertaking" in 14 places, and "literary relationships" is changed to "business relationships" in 1 place; "literature" or "literary creation" are simply changed to "creation" in 2 places; and "literary man" is changed to "writer" in 3 places.

A sentence-by-sentence comparison makes the great disparity in meaning even clearer, e.g."

"Publications should become the party's publications." (new translation)

"Literature should become the party's literature." (old translation)

"I compare the writing undertaking to a screw." (new translation)

"I compare literature to a screw." (old translation)

The magazine RED FLAG is the theoretical publication of the CPC, and for it to carry a retranslation and an explanatory article should be regarded as a negation in principle of the meaning of Mao Zedong's "Talks" and as the criterion for the setting of a new policy on literature and art. Although it did not write a "resolution," at least after this the men of letters need not again be subject to having "a circle drawn on the ground for a prison." Indeed, as Lenin said, they can bestride the "vast universe."

What is strange is that literary and art workers, or cultural workers, have not as yet reacted to this change. Is it that they have worn "tight shoes" too long and an abrupt releasing of their feet, on the contrary, hampers their movement? But, before long in the future, this change is bound to have an enormous effect, and not only will the literary and art workers obtain complete liberation but also this change will extend to other ideological aspects.

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